National Anti-Slavery Standard.

SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, Editor.

Without Concealment—Without Compromise.

EDMUND QUINCY, JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, } Corresponding Editors.

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The Southern Press, North.

From the Boston Atlas

THE EVILS OF FALSE PHILANTHROPY.

In a notice of the July number of the *Christian Examiner*, which may be found on the first page of the *Atlas* of to-day, is given an extract from an article by Rev. Dr. Peabody, of this city. The general subject of the article from which it is taken, is Slavery; that of the particular portion to which we refer, is the mischief done both by its false and by its well-meaning, though misguided opponents, as well as the obstacles by them thrown in the way of true and judicious seekers after its downfall. It is a fruitful theme, and it is well treated by its able and sound-minded exponent. No one, in this community, could well bring to the consideration of this subject a more unquestioned or unquestionably sincere philanthropy, than this gentleman; but his is a philanthropy unfortunately not very common in these days—one intimately blended with sound, practical common sense. No one can more deeply or truly feel the mighty evils of Slavery, or more sincerely desire its extirpation than he. No where are its evils or its wrongs for a moment lost sight of or forgotten; yet they are, as is but too seldom done, treated in a Christian spirit, with justice, fairness, and a true liberality.

In connection with the subject of Slavery, comes up the question who are the best friends to Freedom?—who are they from whom we may hope for the most aid in effecting the removal of this mighty curse. Dr. Peabody takes high ground on this point, yet one he is well able to maintain. The most potent enemies of the slave institution are resident in the slave States, and among slaveholders,—some of them even slaveholders themselves,—from whom he not only looks for most aid, but by whom alone, he insists, we can ever hope to see it overthrown. This brings him very naturally to the obstacles and difficulties in the way of this "forlorn hope" of freedom. The worst of these he finds in the North, among the free States, and they the most vehement and loudest in their professed love for Freedom, and their enmity to Slavery and its wrongs. The ground Mr. Peabody here assumes may, and there is no doubt it will, subject him to the fierce abuse and denunciation of these gentry, and none the less, because there is so much force, truth and point in his views, as he expresses them. We subscribe in full to all he says and urges in the extracts we have quoted. We rejoice that a gentleman of the high-standing, ability, and influence of Dr. Peabody, has had the moral courage thus to come forward and inculcate such sound views, at such a moment. It is indeed refreshing to meet, even once in a while, such sober common-sense, and practical philanthropy.

The evils of false, misguided and violent opposition to Slavery, the mischief done and the good prevented by it, are ably and convincingly given. No one can read it dispassionately and fail to see the force of his arguments, and the justice of his conclusions. Few can fail to be led—after a due reflection upon the importance of the spread of Anti-Slavery sentiment at the South, and the incalculable obstacles, this violence, that can do no good anywhere, must interpose in the way of its spread there—to the inevitable and clear conviction, that after all, there are no worse enemies to Freedom no more real supporters of the pro-Slavery cause, than many a man who has been, and who is now, paraded, feted, biographized, lauded, and almost worshipped, as a champion of Abolition. We verily believe, that were it in the power of man to trace out to their final consequences and results, all the evil and harm done to the cause of Freedom, and embrace at one view the vast aggregations of mischief done by the violent declamations, the indiscriminate revilings, and the extravagance of such false and harmful advocates—if they could but follow out all the good that might have been, but for them, we sincerely believe that all, even their present admirers among the number, would be amazed at the immense preponderance of mischief over good, produced by them in the world. We fervently believe however, that the day is at hand when such men will not be allowed to monopolize, any longer, the cause of Anti-Slavery to its injury. In spite of their pernicious influence in checking and keeping back the Anti-Slavery feeling of the South, we believe the propitious moment is fast approaching, when such men will be seen and estimated as they deserve—their influence and their power for mischief gone forever.

In the extract we quote, the evils of this false and malignant spirit of mock philanthropy are treated only in reference to its connection with Slavery.—The writer might have gone on and given a volume, if he had sought to trace the evidence of the same spirit and the evils, in connection with almost every question of the day, moral, political or religious. False philanthropy, malignity, usurping the garb of benevolence, are the prominent features of the times, and everywhere they are the most deadly foes to actual healthy progress. In nothing is there more meaning than in this connection, in the significant prayer—Save us from our friends, at least such hollow friends as these. Look where we will, at home or abroad, in Europe or America, in France or Germany—and everywhere do we also find it potent for the prevention of good. Perhaps the same pen that has so well traced its evil working in one case, may be induced to extend his far seeing eye over other portions of the social and political horizon, and give to the world the benefit of his mature and sagacious counsels in other points, even though of less seeming importance.

From the (Pittsburg) Daily Chronicle.

THE UNION OF THE STATES.—A few years since it was impossible to find a man with sufficient hardihood to speak in favour of a dissolution of the Union. Now, Southern madmen and Northern fanatics publicly advocate it, and in the broad light of day assert that it is the only remedy for existing evils. Such men are traitors to our glorious Republic, and the Abolitionist of New-England as well as the Hotspur of South Carolina should be indignantly frowned upon by all who consider the Union a sacred thing.

The Union! it was formed by the illustrious patriots of seventy six, cemented by the blood of WARREN, and made permanent, we trust, by Hancock, Jefferson, and Adams. It has existed for the greater part of a century, and may it be successful, is the sincere prayer of every true American. It is a duty we owe to ourselves and our posterity, as well as to the memory of those who declared our independence and established our constitution, to preserve the union despite the opposition of Northern and Southern madmen, who are destined to be

"Forgotten as lost or remembered as worse."

While we all concur with our own great poet in saying that

"Great were the hearts, and strong the minds,
That formed in high debate,
The immortal language of love that binds
This fair, broad empire State to State."

It is our imperative duty to guard it with the utmost vigilance, and entertain for it the most sacred and fervent affection. It has descended to us from the Fathers of the Republic—we look upon it as a precious heir-loom, and patriotism tells us to guard it well."

From the (Philadelphia) Quaker City.

SLAVERY.—We are opposed to Slavery of all kinds, shapes and colours, but for the life of us, we cannot understand the course of those persons who make war upon Negro Slavery, and at the same time profess the most boundless admiration for the very name of Great Britain. Multiply the evils of Black Slavery by ten thousand, and they will not parallel the wrongs and atrocities committed by England upon her White Slaves. These White Slaves are not found in cotton plantations, but they are found in the cotton Mills, in the Manufactories of England. Go to England if you would survey human nature in its lowest deep of degradation. There,—in the caverns of London, in the factories of Manchester, in the depths of the coal mine—you will find thousands of white men and women who have never heard of the existence of God. You will find childhood, blasted into precocious crime. You will find womanhood degraded below the brute creation. You will find manhood, so trodden down, overworked and enslaved from veriest infancy, that it no longer reminds you of God or of his creation, but of Satan and of a satanic creation. Go to Ireland and survey the bones of a million of skeletons, which three years ago were living men and women and children, but which now are the trophies of the great battle fought by England against Humanity—the Battle of the Plague and Famine. Talk of England as the friend of mankind, or as the enemy of Slavery! As well might you speak of Satan as benevolent or of Tartarus as a place renowned for its salubrious climate. England is the enemy of Mankind. Her power is fed upon human flesh. Her thousand Lords live upon the death of ten thousand of the poor—the poor, without bread or hope. Her Bishops offer prayers to God, and at the same time proclaim their Atheism to the world, by their riotous living, and by their consistent oppression of the masses. True, there are two Englands—the England of the Government, backed by the monied and landed aristocracy, and the England of the People, who are only born to toil and to die. The English Government we hate, as the Juggernaut of modern civilization, which never moves but to crush the innocent and the weak. The English people: the men, the women and children whose prostrate necks make the pathway of this great Juggernaut—we love as the great family of humanity, whose Father is God.

But the English of the Bankers, Lords and Bishops is the foe of mankind. The sooner it is blotted out from the list of nations, the better for the world. Every day that it continues to exist, is only another day of starvation, suffering and blood. The hour which witnesses the downfall of England, will be hailed by mankind as the 4th of July of a freed World.

Let any man read the Reports presented to the English Parliament, in relation to the degradation of the Factory population of England, let him peruse the British papers, and see how day after day Murder, Famine and Robbery go hand in hand over the British Dominions—let him accept the testimony of British authors, in regard to the utter misery of the masses of the British people—and then if he has the heart to do it, let him deny that England is the common Executioner of the Human Family.

——That Americans opposed to Slavery, should admire this England may well excite our wonder. But that in their haste to get rid of Black Slavery they should eulogize the White Slavery which prevails in England, may well excite not only the wonder, but the horror and contempt of all honest men. Away with the hypocrite, whose bowels yearn with compassion for the Negro while his heart has not one throb, nor his eye one tear, for the English Slave.

From the Lowell (Mass.) Journal.

☞ The Boston Republican fulminates an immense quantity of abuse upon the head of John M. Clayton, Secretary of State, because he writes that it had not been the practice of the Department to grant passports to persons of colour. We did not suppose that there was an individual in the United States so utterly destitute of political ammunition as to make this the ground of a violent onslaught upon the Administration: Mr. Clayton simply states what the practice of the Government has been, and that he does not feel at liberty to depart from it. Under Thomas Jefferson, Chief Justice Marshall, John Quincy Adams, Martin Van Buren, Daniel Webster and others, who have preceded Mr. Clayton in the State Department, this practice has prevailed, without a word of rebuke, so far as we have ever heard. And yet—now, for no other purpose than that of making an unfounded attack upon the administration—the Republican singles out John M. Clayton, and denounces him as a "tool of a weak and treacherous administration." Mr. Clayton is no more responsible for the adoption or continuance of the rule to which he refers, than the editor of the Republican, or Mr. Giddings, or Mr. Palfrey. Nor indeed so much—for if, as our cotemporary intimates, the practice referred to requires the intervention of Congress, the two last named gentlemen, knowing it to exist, might long since have made an effort to arrest it. The Republican is hard pushed for weapons of attack upon the administration.

NO YOU DON'T.—It would seem that the Democracy of the Maine Senate are trying to force Governor Dana to recant his non-intervention principles on the subject of Slavery Extension. Certain resolutions in favour of the Wilmot proviso having recently passed that body, were ordered to be sent with a message, by the Secretary of State, to the Governor "for his signature and *approval*." But the Governor was not to be caught in this way. He immediately sent back a message, in which he states that he considers the message of the Senate as "an insulting outrage"—an interference on the part of one branch with the rights and duties of another—that the opinions as expressed in his Executive Message, are diametrically opposed to the resolutions of the Senate—that he cannot transmit the latter, under the circumstances, to the Governors of the several States of the Union—and closes by saying—"The Resolves are herewith returned without my approval and signature, for the reasons indicated in the foregoing." On the reception of this message, the Senate felt constrained to take some notice of so unusual a proceeding, and the document was ordered to be printed. And thus the matter stands. If the Senate intended to give the Governor a gentle hint, they have certainly received something very like an executive kick in return.—*Ibid.*

The Southern Press, South.

From the (Woodville Miss.) Wilkinson Whig.

DISUNION.

So far as our observation has extended, there has been a marked difference in the positions taken, lately, by the Whig and Democratic newspapers at the North, upon the question of Slavery. The "coalition," which, in that section of the country, has been uniting to the Democratic party all the Anti-Slavery elements of opposition to the Administration, cannot have escaped the notice of any of our readers. But heartily as the fraternization was made on the part of the Democratic party, we were hardly prepared to find the "natural allies of the South" so far forgetful of their ancient prejudices and pledges, as to adopt the extreme doctrines of the disunionists. Such seems to have been the case, however, and the organs of the party, almost everywhere at the North, carried away by the "one idea," are now broaching, fearlessly, the alternative of Free Soil or Disunion. Whether it be the result, merely, of the spirit of antagonism, or not; or whether it be simply the demand, which consistency makes upon all who give support to the present Administration, or not, or whether, again, it may, or may not, be the impulse of broad, national and conservative principles which have always found place in the creed of the great Whig party, we shall not here discuss; but certainly, the course pursued by the Whig press at the North is very different from this. In the language which it uses, it seems to forget section, entirely, in a lofty, devotion to the interests of the whole country. As an instance in point, read the following from the *New York Courier and Enquirer*, upon the subject of the dissolution of the Union;

"No 'statesman,' North or South, will ever speak of *Disunion* as the 'alternative of any measure or policy which he may deprecate or desire. Come from whatsoever quarter it may, that is the language and temper of highwaymen, and should not come into halls of legislation or into any councils connected with the public good. 'Your money, or your life,' is a phrase not grateful to honest hearts, even when translated into the more courtly phraseology of public affairs.

"Another grave mistake is made when '*our institutions* are separated from our *Union*, and the Euphonism of partial dismemberment is made to cloak the hideous reality of national death. A dismemberment of this Confederacy never can be 'partial.' This Union can never be sundered without flying into fragments. Let sectional feelings, or sectional interests, or fancied sectional rights once succeed in breaking the golden chain that binds these States in one harmonious union, and the poles of the magnet change. Attraction will give place to repulsion. Every section, and every State, freed from that strong fraternal concord which now leads them to consult their individual good only through the general harmony and prosperity, will seek at once their own aggrandizement. The North, the East, the Central and the Western States would each demand the lion's share of the gigantic spoil. Coleridge's prevision would thus be realized, and from the downfall of this Republican Federation would spring half a dozen aspiring empires, using the materials of prosperity so lavishly heaped upon them, only as the instruments of selfish and unprincipled ambition. Republican institutions might possibly exist under this new form; but the experience of the past teaches us to expect the exact reverse. An overgrown absolutism, when it breaks up, may give place to one or more republics; but a Republic, when it falls, sinks inevitably into corruption, and thence, legitimately, into despotic forms.

"But whether Republican forms could or could not be preserved, amid such a shock, '*our* institutions' could not survive. Our Union is not simply an incident of our existence, incidental to our positions and form of Government. It is essential to that existence. It is that alone which created this Republic, and it is that alone which preserves to us Republican institutions. It may not be intrinsically more valuable than those institutions, but it gave them birth, it has kept them in full life and vigour hitherto, and so far as we can form any judgment from reason or from history, when it dies they will perish too. We shall be a Republic so long as our Union exists. When that is severed we become simply the ruins of a Republic, out of which, and upon which, ambitious and unscrupulous men will rear such effigies of government as may best suit their own selfish ends. Disunion for us, and for our institutions, is simply death. The Constitution which makes us one, gives us life, creates all our political strength, and insures those 'institutions' which, in turn, make it valuable and precious in the eyes of every patriot. Disunion implies its destruction, and with it sinks the proud, imperial nation which now reposes upon it in strength, security and prosperity."

Selections.

It gives us great satisfaction to copy an article so unusually free from pro-slavery fanaticism and cant as this which follows from the *Raleigh* (N. C.) *Register*.

ESPIONAGE OF THE MAILS.

The doctrines set forth by the Washington "*Union*," and reiterated by the Southern Locofoco Press, in reference to the powers and duties of the Post Master General, would disgrace a Russian or Turkish despotism. For the sake of turning the excitable sensibilities of the Southern people to political account, it is boldly maintained to be the duty of the head of the Post Office Department to authorize his subordinates to open letters and packages supposed to contain objectionable matter. This principle being once established, the liberty of the Press becomes a nullity, and the dominant party is invested with full powers to suppress the promulgation through the mails of any opinions which it may disapprove. If the Post Master General can prohibit the delivery of Abolition newspapers and letters, and authorize them to be opened, there is nothing to prevent him from exercising the same censorial power over his political opponents. If a Democrat, he may strip the Whig party entirely of the use of the mails, and at the same time make them a vehicle for propagating the views of his own party. We are not prepared to charge that this despotic principle was acted on during the last or preceding Presidential campaigns, but certain it is, that it is openly maintained by the Organ of the late Administration.

If the principle of espionage is allowed to be correct, it is a mere question of prejudice and passion in the dominant party, as to who are to be its victims. In the exercise of it, the Whigs (if we can suppose the Whigs capable of maintaining such principles,) would suppress the circulation of Democratic doctrines, and the Democrats those of the Whigs, and the Abolitionists, in their turn, would close the mails to both the other parties. There is no drawing a distinction between doctrines which are criminal and hurtful to the community, and such as are salutary. What is regarded as sound doctrine in New England passes in South Carolina for ranting fanaticism. On the other hand, the New Englanders look upon the maxims and principles which are prevalent in South Carolina as the offspring of barbarism. There are a thousand shades of opinion in reference to the question of Slavery, any one of which stopping short of unqualified approval of the institution, would be condemned in South Carolina as heretical, and the promulgator of them subjected to insult, if to nothing worse. It would be dangerous in South Carolina for a man to utter the prayer of General Cass "for the abolition of Slavery throughout the world." All such opinions, therefore, would be voted incendiary by a South Carolina Vigilance Committee, and and the Postmasters would feel bound to destroy the documents containing them. The views daily promulgated by Messrs. Clay and Benton, are regarded in the Palmetto State as no better than treason, and are believed to have the effect of exciting insurrection: yet in the State of Missouri and Kentucky, they are daily uttered from the Press and the Stump, and command the respect of thousands. In Massachusetts, the sentiments which pass for Orthodox in South Carolina, would excite disgust or ridicule. There is no standard of truth and orthodoxy in politics—at least none to which all parties refer; and such being the case, the question can never be settled; for what object, and to suppress what opinions, should the censorship of the mails be exercised? Certain it is, however, that the South should not uphold the right of espionage. She has nothing to gain by it now, and will have less in future years, when the North will be so much aggrandized by the increase of population, native and foreign, and by the addition of new States.

The immediate cause of the excitement in South Carolina, as we learn from the Newspapers, is an attempt of some crazy fanatic to circulate an address, intended to operate on the class of non-slaveholders; and to accomplish this object, a ridiculous air of mystery was thrown around the subject by the use of cyphers and other secret signs. It seems that no evidence exists, however, of a purpose to exite insurrection, but merely to raise up a Free Soil, or Emancipation party, and but for the stupid attempt at mystery and concealment, the whole affair would have passed off without so much as exciting a remark. If this is the extent of the offence of the Abolitionists, there would be no justification of the illegal proceedings that have taken place in Spartanburg. Indeed we see no necessity for legal proceedings under any circumstances. The law is ample for the punishment of the diabolical attempts of Abolitionists or others, to excite insurrection; and public opinion everywhere will justify its vigorous exercise. Every arm is nerved for the punishment of such villains, and even the summary justice of Lynch law may be excused, though unnecessary, and worse than unnecessary. But for the promulgation of opinions not tending to excite insurrection, and not addressed to slaves, but to freemen, we apprehend that neither law nor justice will justify their forcible suppression. We cease to be a free people when we cease to cherish the most sacred charters of our liberties, the Bill of Rights, and the Constitution, both of which guarantee the freedom of the Press and of speech. These were the rights for which our English forefathers fought against the tyranny of Charles the II.; and for denying them he forfeited his head; and it was in the same sacred cause that war was waged against James II who, uninstructed by the misfortunes of his father, commenced the same career of tyranny, which cost him his throne.

The legality of arresting Barrett in Spartanburg, holding him to bail, and in sending him to prison, may be justified, if he had given grounds for suspicion of tampering with slaves, in order to induce them to run away or resist their masters; but the circulation of such documents as have been published would not warrant his punishment. The pamphlets, or letters, are addressed to white men, and, as far as we have seen, propose no resistance, open or clandestine, to the laws of South Carolina. But the proceedings against the Post Master, Legg, are wholly illegal, and amount to a nullification of the laws and Constitution of the United States. The circumstances are these—J. M. Barrett, an emissary of the Abolitionists, of Ohio, or Indiana, had been arrested in Spartanburg, and it was known that he was authorized to take from the Post Office in that place, a letter addressed to one John Edward Thompson, and the Committee of Vigilance supposing that this letter contained evidence of his guilt, determined to have possession of it. For this purpose they induced a magistrate to issue a warrant against the Post Master, G. W. H. Legg, compelling him to give bond for his appearance before the Court of Sessions with the letter, as a witness against Barrett. The Postmaster refused to comply, very properly, with this mob requisition, and was sent to prison for his temerity. It seems that Mr. Legg is admitted, even by the mob, to be a man of honour, and his scruples of conscience are respected; but nevertheless the behests of King Mob must be obeyed. Mr. Legg alleged, that being a sworn officer of the United States Government, he could not deliver the letter to any one except the person to whom it was addressed, or his agent, without a violation of his oath; but his excuse would not suffice, and he was sent to jail. He subsequently, however, thought better of the matter, and entered into the required security for his appearance in Court with the letter. We presume he will plead before the Court the illegality of the bond as a release from its conditions, and certainly an American Court of Justice will not insist upon their fulfilment. The law has already been violated by the mob—it remains to be seen whether the constituted authorities of South Carolina sanction what has been done.

The Post Master did, in the first instance, what every man of honour and sense would feel to be his duty, if placed in like circumstances. The law is so plain that a fool may run and read, and yet the Washington "*Union*" and other unscrupulous Locofoco sheets are arraigning Mr. Collamer, and the administration, because they have not assumed to exercise a dispensing power over the laws and Constitution of the United States. The baseness of this demagogical appeal, on the eve of an election, cannot fail to be appreciated by Southern men.

There is no power in the President or his Cabinet to withhold a letter from the humblest citizen, without committing the crime of perjury. As to letters addressed to slaves, there is another remedy—the Master can prohibit the slave from receiving letters addressed to him. They are not citizens, and the owner can forbid any sort of intercourse with them. In fact, they have no surname [illegible] be distinguished from another; and a Postmaster is not bound to know one slave from another, they being in the eye of law, not persons, but property—such is the estimation in which they are held by the State laws.

After all, there is less danger from the circulation of such documents through the mails than is generally imagined. In the first place the slaves are unable to read; and if white men are base enough to read such documents to them, they would operate more effectually by talking with them. As a proof of the correctness of this view, it may be remarked, that in Maryland and Kentucky, where the opportunities of the Abolitionists for disseminating their views are of daily occurrence, the idea of insurrection is never dreamed of, while in South Carolina, and some of the South Western States, where no such opportunities exist for intercourse with the slaves, the public mind is in a constant state of apprehension and excitement.

From the Franklin (La.) Banner.

AN AGED NEGRO.—There died a few days ago in our village, an African slave, of whose age—though we cannot speak positively, for they kept no Parish Registers of births and marriages in Africa, at the time of her nativity, whatever they may do now—we can, from circumstantial evidence, gather that she must have far surpassed the usual period allotted to the life of man in the time of David, which was three score and ten. She has many fellow slaves whose years amounted to more than three score, and whose first recollection placed her as an *old woman*. The grandmother of the writer, whose age, had she yet lived, would have been above 95, always spoke of her as a person far older than she was.

Her husband, a very intelligent African, who died several years ago, and said that he was more than one hundred years old, acknowledged that she must be older than he, though not much: for poor old Will would not grant that his wife could be anything greater than he was, even in age,—for though an African "he was a man, aye a man, every inch of him." Descending himself from the tribe of negroes, called Coromentie, during their domestic quarrels, which "were neither few nor far between," he always reproached his blacker half, as being a *Muccow*, a man-eater, one of a tribe of cannibals. This the good old lady never denied, but answered with some conjugal taunt, quite as delicate, and we have no doubt quite as well deserved. It is strange that being born in the country of men-eaters, she should have finished her long period of existence on earth, in the County of Attakapas, which means "man-eaters" in the Indian tongue.

From the best calculations which can be made we have come to the conclusion, that the age of the deceased must have exceeded one hundred and ten years.

From the (West-Chester, Pa.) Village Record.

THE KIDNAPPING CASE.—In another column we publish a sketch of the proceedings of the trial and conviction of Amos McFarlan and Solomon States, on the charge of kidnapping a coloured boy. Much interest was manifested during the whole stage of this trial; and at times the large court room was quite crowded with spectators. The outrage had been committed in the vicinity of Downingtown, where several aggravating acts have been recently perpetrated by slave catchers. Consequently a strong feeling prevailed in that section, of making an example of the accused in this case. Many deeply sympathized for Amos McFarlan, from his peculiar circumstances—his age—and from the manner he appeared to become involved in this criminal transaction. The principal witness in the case was the boy who was kidnapped—a stout, hearty looking fellow, apparently about fifteen years old. The boy was an apprentice of Wm. Evans, of that village, and had been coaxed off by the defendants, on pretence of getting him a better place in Philadelphia or Baltimore. He was taken to the former city in the cars; kept there several days, and from thence he was sent, as he supposed, to Wilmington; but on his arrival he was taken to a gloomy building and fastened up; this building proved to be, a slave establishment in Baltimore. The story of the boy led to the restoration of his liberty, and to the punishment of the parties implicated in the abduction. McFarlan, one of the parties convicted, is a young man, who had some advantages: he has only been a few years married, and within a year or two kept one of the principal hotels at Downingtown. His coadjutor was a coloured man of 25 or 30 years of age. Both were convicted, and the former was sentenced to six years and the latter to five years in the penitentiary and $500 fine.

[The first knowledge of the abduction of this boy, whose name is Henry Lee Brown, but went by the name of 'Bony,' was communicated to Mr. Evans, his employer at Downingtown, by a gentleman at Baltimore, Mr. Needles, a Public Friend. Mr. Needles wrote to Mr. Evans, informing him that a coloured boy, representing himself to be from Downingtown, had been placed in the Slave prison of a man named Campbell, and that the owner, discovering him to be a free boy, had notified him—and that he, Needles, had obtained his release and got a place for him in a vessel. Mr Evans accordingly went to Baltimore, and the boy was eventually returned to his employer.]

McFarlan and his confederate, Solomon, the coloured man, were taken to the eastern Penitentiary, yesterday morning. McFarlan's young wife and family were around him, and the feelings of all as well as his own, may well be imagined. Before leaving the Borough, he desired to go before Squire Fleming to make an affidavit; which was allowed. The purport of the affidavit was that Solomon States, implicated and convicted with him, was in his opinion, entirely ignorant of any knowledge of the intention to abduct "Bony," and sell him into Slavery, for a longer or shorter term; and that he could have obtained no such knowledge except from himself—and that therefore Solomon was entirely innocent of the crime of abduction. The presumption of Solomon's guilt was based upon the fact of his being concerned in *taking him to Philadelphia* and other circumstances. The affidavit states that Solomon was induced to believe that the object was to get him a better situation.

This is the first case of kidnapping, that we recollect for many years in Chester county, and we trust it will be the last. As may naturally be supposed, a strong feeling prevailed at Downingtown, to vindicate the cause of justice and the law, at the same time that a proper regard was felt for the rights of the prisoners. It is only a few months ago, that we had occasion to record a gross outrage, perpetrated in that village. Several persons from an adjoining State, came there in pursuit of an absconding slave. Hearing that the slave was employed at the boarding school in the village, they entered the house, at the dawn of the day, proceeded to the attic story, dragged her from her bed, and forced her down the steps into a vehicle, and carried her off. Such an invasion of the sanctity of a private house, was calculated to call up a powerful feeling of indignation.

From The (N. Y.) Spirit of the Age.

THE FIRST OF AUGUST.

THIS sacred anniversary—whose every return proves more conclusively that Principle and Policy are one and inseperable—is the fitting occasion of flinging to the breeze the

ANTI-SLAVERY FLAG.

It would be a pleasure to speak of the triumphant progress of Emancipation in the English West India Islands, and to bear a tribute of honour to the successful efforts of our coloured countrymen to assume their rightful position, industrially, socially, religiously, in the free States of the Union. But the urgency of the times presents other topics. The end of this article is simply to take ground on the question of *Slavery Extension*, now forced upon the People of this Nation, and to open *one* plain path of political duty.

FACTS AND PROBABILITIES.

The pouring in of a flood of freemen upon California—the professed desire of the Administration to devolve upon citizens already there the responsibility of forming institutions for the new State—the growing expectation that this State will apply to Congress, next winter, for admission to the Union—the action of Mr. Clay, Mr. Benton, and other leading statesmen of both the great parties in favour of the Jefferson or Wilmot proviso—the progressive development of right principle in Kentucky—the augmenting numbers, spirit, resolution of the Free Soil party—the seeming trepidation of the Slave Power—the manifestation of popular feeling and purpose throughout the free States—and the tone of the Public Press,—are certainly encouraging omens. And were it not for the incredible artifices and successful trickery of the past ten years, whose bitter experience is fresh in memory, a sanguine person might be ready to exclaim, "Thank God, the beginning of the end has come; Slavery is shut up, and so will surely, speedily die."

But, on the other hand, when he calls to mind Texas Annexation and the Mexican War, whose monstrous inhumanity, this People was tempted to swallow by the coating of gain wherewith the poison was candied.—listens to the insidious whisper of "Cuba,"—considers how easy it is to breed a litter of pretexts for further spoilations of Mexico by the famous, or infamous Protocol and otherwise,—observes the desperation of the Slave Power, put at bay and fighting for very life,—reflects on the innumerable lures, bribes, intrigues, which by correspondence and conversation are brought to bear upon all expectants of political preferment—remembers the Unity of Wrong Interest that holds together the Slaveholding Oligarchy, and the Variety of Rights and Interests which distract Freemen of the South, North, and West, while one party is strong in the prestige of ruling by the established precedent of "divide and conquer," and the other party is weak from habits of concession and connivance—finally, when he looks the fact fairly in the face that President Taylor was *the* Slaveholders Candidate, and that Mr. Compromise Clayton is prime minister—he cannot but feel that the hour is fraught with perils, which call for vigilance, courage, determination, such as Freemen of the United States have *never yet* exercised.

Probable triumph one dares to hope, is on the side of Justice and Humanity; and before a year is passed it *may* be the privilege of this People to congratulate one another on the assurance, that some atonement has been made for the Nation's crime of Conquest and Usurpation, and some pledge of practical penitence offered to mankind by hypocritical professors of Republicanism, whose Free Institutions are based upon Oppression. But let us not be sluggish, or self-confident; for then the tragedies of eighteen fortynine will be consummated in a catastrophe more dark and dreadful even than the triumphs of Absolutism in Europe—by spreading over the once free regions of Mexico the black and bloody shroud of Slavery.

PROSPECTIVE POLICY.

If one could believe that the Administration are really impartial; if there was not ground for fearing that the dubious phrase of General Riley's Proclamation,—several times repeated.—"*Laws not inconsistent with the Constitution and Laws of the United States*" is meant to cover the slaveholding "Compromises;" if there was reason for supposing that the People of California would be left really free to organize their own institutions, and to apply in their own way, for admission to the Union; or if, in the event that such application should be found premature next winter, the naked question of Slavery Extension or Slavery Limitation could be presented to Congress; the way would be plain. Then, it might be briefly settled, that Slavery shall bring its long tolerated aggressions to an end. But it would be childish credulity to expect that any such simple problem will be offered for solution. No! The Slave Power knows its own weakness too well for straight-forwardness,—reckless, haughty, presumptuous though it is. Its policy will be to complicate the question, wrap it about in a web of constitutional sophistries, mix it up with party issues, overlay it with all manner of delusive projects, and hide the single aim of Slavery Extension amidst specious professions of regard for National interests. What pathos, indignation, logic, paternal love of California, protestations of patriotism, conservative appeals in behalf of the violated constitution, &c. will the walls of both chambers of the capitol echo, next winter; and beneath what tons of printed twaddle will stages, steamboats, railroads, groan on every mail route.

True wisdom is to be *prepared* for any possible crisis. Are we prepared? Let us look at some of the combinations which may be offered to the deliberations and decision of the People and Statesmen before six months are over:

1. California offers itself with a *Slaveholding* Constitution, or what amounts to the same, a Constitution *not positively prohibiting* Slavery. What shall the party of Freedom do? Reject it instantly, uncompromisingly. Are we ready for that course, with *all* the consequences? Before answering, let us consider what those consequences are.

2. Congress has not been brought to *reject* such a Constitution. What shall the party of Freedom do? Retire, Senators and Representatives; announce to their respective States and Constituencies that the UNION IS BROKEN; and summon in legal modes private assemblies of the People to form a NEW UNION OF FREEMEN.

3. Congress will not pass the *Anti-Slavery Extension Proviso*. What shall the party of Freedom do? Declare that the old States will be in no way participators in the crime of Slavery Extension over new States; call upon the Californians to preserve their free institutions; and if necessary, take measures, as in the previous case, for organizing a *New Union*, including California.

4. Congress accepts California with a Free Constitution, or else passes the Anti-Slavery Extension Proviso; and one, two, three, of the Slaveholding States *nullify or secede*. What shall the party of Freedom do? Take them at their word; proceed instantly to confirm and carry out a decisive policy of Slavery Limitation, and admit the self-exiled States again, only on condition of their adopting Constitutions based upon Emancipation, Equality and Justice.

The simplest combinations have been purposely presented for the end of bringing clearly out this *one* thought—that *any successful attempt to extend Slavery* over the Territories newly submitted to our guardianship, should be treated as a VIRTUAL DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION.

Unless the party of Freedom is prepared to take this firm ground of Principle, it is to be feared—and it would be false to hide the fear—that once again the Freemen of this Nation will find themselves cajoled, brow-beaten, and entrapped into suicidal and criminal subservience to the Faction of a slaveholding Oligarchy, which has tyrannized over the United States for a half century. Slavery must, on no consideration, be allowed a hair's-breadth of standing room in these new countries. It would be fatal folly to talk of abolishing it, if once allowed to show its head there. Let not "REPEAL" of Slavery extending legislation be dreamed of, or mentioned as a possibility. "The Proviso" or a "Free Constitution" should be the calm, unflinching, inexorable demand.

This course is the only conservative one, and throws the blame of destructive policy where it rightly belongs, on the aggressive Slave-Power. It is the only righteous one according to the acknowledged Principles of our Government, the Religion professed by our Nation, the plain dictates of Humanity, and the Law of God.

Had Freemen been deliberately, firmly ready, at the time of the Annexation of Texas and the Mexican War, to say to the Slave-Power, "Put your plots in execution at your peril; their consummation will be held by us to be a virtual dissolution of the Old Union, and we shall straightway summon the People to form a New Union,"—this Nation never would have been plunged upon its infamous career of Robbery and Murder.

Now, at last, then let us be *prepared*. Let the People in their primary assemblies, let Legislatures and State Conventions, let Representatives and Senators in Congress announce their absolute resolve in SLAVERY LIMITATION OR THE NEW UNION OF FREEMEN.

W. H. C.

From The Liberator.

WENDELL PHILLIPS TO JAMES HAUGHTON, OF DUBLIN.

BOSTON, August 20th, 1849.

JAMES HAUGHTON, Esq. Dublin:

DEAR SIR—You will have heard, before this reaches you, of Father MATHEW's decision to be silent, while in this country, on the subject of Slavery. The Abolitionists have learned it with deep regret. Being all of us, with hardly an exception, teetotalers, minutely acquainted with and deeply interested in Father MATHEW's labours, grateful for the noble protest he sent here against Slavery in 1842, and for the welcome he has given to American Abolitionists abroad—accustomed ourselves to give a fair proportion of our effort to the temperance cause, we hoped for a cordial sympathy from the great teetotaller.

We did not expect, and you will observe we did not ask, Father MATHEW to take any prominent part, or give any great amount of time to the Anti-Slavery enterprise. We recognized, with the rest of the world, the peculiar sphere which Providence seems to have marked out for him, and approved, as well as admired, his profound devotion to his one idea.

But no one, much less no one upon whom the eyes of millions are fixed, can be so exclusively a teetotaller, or anything else, that his opinions on other points will not be known, and his influence counted on. All we asked of Father MATHEW was, that he would embrace "every suitable opportunity to bear a clear and unequivocal testimony, both in public and private, against the enslavement of any portion of the human family;" and again "with no wish or design to divert him from his great mission, we trusted that he would occasionally find an opportunity to admonish his countrymen to be true to liberty."

Must a traveller do nothing but flatter? If he may be excused from this; then, surely, the man who, on landing, had alluded, in every speech, in glowing terms, to the "free institutions" of the soil he trod—and promised to carry back a faithful picture of the "workings of our admirable moral, social, industrial and educational establishments"—who could discuss, with his American admirers, his relations with the British Government as a pensioner, &c. &c. might, we thought, find time, in some of his thousand speeches, for, now and then, a word worthy of a Christian man, as to those bloody laws which doom every sixth person in this land to worse than death—on that "sin against God and man," of whose "horror," "degradation," "oppression," and "withering curse," he had spoken to the Irish here, eloquently, in 1842.

We ventured, it is true, to ask his presence, if he had time to spare, at a celebration of the great British Act of Emancipation in 1834; deeming that to be an occasion of such universal interest, that a foreigner, and especially an Irishman, might share in it.

Father MATHEW replies that he shall not "commit himself" on this subject while in America. Perhaps we ought to have expected as much from one who, years ago, declared that he "would rather the temperance cause were lost, than that Catholic order should be injured." But we hoped better things. One thing we must praise—the prudent Father's frankness. He was no Jesuit then. He fairly confesses that, in his opinion, no one, however worldwide his repute, can be of use in America, unless he consents to be gagged on the subject of Slavery; and he contentedly puts the gag on. A poor compliment, to be sure, to the land he visits, to say, "Your freedom is so nominal, that no man, however fenced about by good deeds and the world's love, can be allowed to speak his mind." But such is Father MATHEW's declaration, in substance; and many of our papers endorse and applaud him.

Perhaps you will say, I judge him too harshly—that he sees the country divided into two parties on this question, and chooses to side with neither. Remember, then, that the question is, HUMAN BONDAGE, "worse than murder," according to Coleridge—"the sum of all villanies," according to Wesley; that on its side are many millions—against it, a few thousands. A Christian sword would leap from its scabbard in such a cause; and lips which God had touched could not forbear speaking. "On Slavery," said Father MATHEW himself in 1842, "*no one can be neutral.* He who is not against it is for it." This excuse, therefore, does not avail.

Our opponents have sometimes charged us, you will remember, with exaggerating the influence of the slave system, and the servile corruption of public opinion on the subject. Judge, now, which party is right. Father MATHEW, a world's wonder, almost sainted in the love of his contemporaries, must keep silence on this dreaded subject, if he would retain his influence! How heavy, then, do you judge, the burden must rest on more common men? If he cannot be allowed to speak, who can? Like the maiden in Spenser, the philanthropy of his mission had tamed into admiring silence, religious bigotry, national antipathy, and the bickerings of party. There was one dragon whom no life of saint-like devotion could appease, and Father MATHEW vails his crest to the slave power of America, in order to retain his influence!

It is, I think, a fatal mistake. He who in this way seeks to save his influence shall lose it. Americans knew Father MATHEW to be an Anti-Slavery man, and expected him to be himself everywhere. They may profit by the treason, but, as in all other cases, will despise the traitor.

What has he gained? He has lost the confidence of reformers. Every Northern Doughface sees the great Teetotaller belittled to his own level. Is that a gain? Would a frank expression of his

opinion on this subject, "occasionally," (all we asked,) have injured him with the Irish? Of course, he could never expect to have much influence with slaveholders themselves. Indeed, few native-born Americans dream of taking the pledge at his hands; and a slaveholding teetotaller finds no true description but the trite one in Butler—compounding

"——for sins he is inclined to
By damning those he has no mind to."

An Anti-Slavery teetotal saint promising silence on Slavery, that he may win such,—how far is he from the kingdom of the same condemnation? What, then, has he gained? A noisy reception, wherever he goes, from wine drinkers—civic feasts from the old foes of the temperance cause—the hurras of the newspapers! And thus he sells

"——the wide scope of his large honours
For so much truth as may be grasped thus!"

True, this glitter has its effect upon the ignorant class he addresses: but to injure the slave with one hand, as much as he helps the Irish labourer with the other, is but a poor claim to a world's gratitude. It was the boast of O'CONNELL, that he would never set foot on American soil, while it was polluted with Slavery. Father MATHEW not only visits us, but consents to go padlocked that he may be feted!

The Reverend gentleman underates both his own importance and the servile worship we gladly pay to rank. When Lord MORPETH was in South Carolina, he commented freely on Slavery. His tuft-loving hearers, remembering 'the blood of all the Howards,' ate their leeks in silence. Had Father MATHEW been true to his own conscience and fame, we should have recognized him as "noble by the right of an earlier creation," and submitted still more respectfully to his rebuke.

You will observe, also, that he has gone too far in his submission, even for our latitude. All the papers which criticise this matter *presume* that the interview must be *misrepresented!* No attempt, however, worthy of notice, has been made to impeach the accuracy of Mr. Garrison's account, and the recent interview of Mr. Rogers with Father MATHEW fully confirms it. But you will observe that, taking it for accurate, even our papers cannot defend it. If so, why hasten to presume that he did not say what he is stated to have said? The Reverend Father has got so humbly upon his knees before the slave power, that even our editors, who are "native here, and to the manner born," cannot get low enough to be level with him!

Each man chooses, according to his taste and ability, the particular sphere to which he will devote himself; but, above and beyond that choice, we owe each other our countenance, the expression of our opinion and testimony, whenever that expression will relieve suffering, or correct wrong. How else shall proud majorities be stayed? Ireland looks for aid to the public opinion of Christendom, given her incidentally by those immersed in their own cares and struggles. That is the fulcrum on which she rests her effort against the cruel indifference of the British people. Slavery is in the same condition. Laws and oceans interposed, cannot break the brotherhood of the race; and Father MATHEW *owes* the slave this testimony, in obedience to that faith which both profess, which bids the strong help the weak. He has no right to sell his silence on Slavery, that, with thirty pieces of silver, he may swell the treasury of Irish teetotalism. Silence from such a visitor is most significant *support;* and no purpose, however holy, can justify a visit to our shores at the price of such [illegible] on Father MATHEW, and that whoever censures his course, has the world for a jury. But we cheerfully abide its verdict on the issue between us. A Christian minister, confessing that he can innocently stand face to face with the sinner, and promise not to rebuke him! A Catholic submitting the spiritual to the civil power, in that he allows human laws to excuse him from delivering his divine message, "Do as you would be done by"—"Open thy mouth for the dumb, in the cause of all such as are appointed to destruction.' An Abolitionist, coming to a land where humanity wages her battle against such fearful odds—to remain not neutral, but by marked silence, in such circumstances, give comfort to the foes of truth—throw discredit on the slave's friends—and lull into false security the half awakening conscience of the oppressor! A man, gathering into his hand more influence than any other of the age can boast, and cowering before a guilty people, instead of rebuking them in the majesty of his God-given power!

We deny the right of any man, especially one of commanding influence, to be silent on one question that he may enhance his weight on others. We do not allow a foreign birth to absolve any one, whose position gives him influence here, from speaking in behalf of the American slave. If there be anything in the character of the Temperance cause to break down national distinctions, and allow international influence, there is tenfold as much in the Anti-Slavery agitation. The slave, a man, denied education, robbed of the Bible, of his wife, his children, of himself—hopelessly imbruted—woman doomed almost of necessity to licentiousness—marriage annihilated—what stands between the servant of Jesus Christ and such a picture to bar him from rebuking the wretch who creates it? A law? If the slaveholder made slaves, as he drinks wine, of his own free will, the prudent Father would feel at liberty to deal with him! But he has made prostitution *lawful*—made murder *lawful*—made the selling of his own children at auction *lawful*—and so the true apostolic successor of Peter and Paul is disarmed, and cries out, "We ought to obey man, rather than God!" "No law can sanction Slavery," said O'CONNELL. What murder is on the pirate deck, that precisely is Slavery, on the American soil. Every lover of justice, every Christian, is free, and is bound to denounce it. A Christian minister hailing a pirate ship, and promising to say nothing against their occupation, if they would let him offer them the pledge, would be a fit type of a teetotaller bound to silence on Slavery to advance teetotalism. We consider free speech no favour granted us by man, but a right, the gift of God, and abjure the policy of yielding any portion of it to save the rest.

We hold the truth which God shows us as no plaything, or counter with which to traffic: but to be uttered all of it, in due time, and especially before those whom it concerns.

We hold it to be the first mark of goodness, and the highest privilege of greatness, to speak what you think; and especially in times when words are deeds and mighty to work wonders. Painful indeed would it be to a sincere Abolitionist, if God condemned him to go up and down this land, drying up the sources of intemperance, and forbade him, full of powers as he was, to lift his little finger for the relief of that hideous bondage he was daily doomed to witness. On all these points, at issue between ourselves and Father MATHEW, we shall cheerfully abide the verdict of the world and posterity.

According to Father MATHEW, while Ireland is starving, all the world not British born must keep silence on the cruel mistakes of Government which have ruined her; and any great Briton may be innocently still, if, so doing, he can husband his influence for the peace or the anti-state church cause! Was it indeed so, when he saw the iron entering the souls of his countrymen? Did he not summon the world to her rescue? The American Slave, a hungered, with none to give him bread,—athirst, with none to give him drink,—sick and in prison, with none to visit him,—asks of the great Irishman the bread of his testimony; asks that he will not allow his potent name to be added to the list of those who justify silence, in any circumstances, on such a sin.

Father MATHEW thanks us, Americans, that we have given the world the doctrine of total abstinence. He would fitly return the favour by holding to our lips the bitter cup of Anti-Slavery.

God says to this nation, "LET MY PEOPLE GO"—but Father MATHEW is so very *proper* a priest, that God's message must be countersigned by the national authorities, before he will consent to deliver it—unless, indeed, it be to a people, like the Irish, who do not hold slaves, and will not feel offended.

Father MATHEW is so enthusiastic a teetotaller meanwhile, that a man may sell his own children at auction unblamed, if he will, but do it sober! Father MATHEW is such a protestant, such a stickler for the right of private judgment *on this question*, that he can see nothing specific in the Scriptures against Slavery, though successive Popes infallible have denounced it as unchristian and a sin!

Still, in 1842, Father MATHEW could exhort his poor, uneducated countrymen, to exert all "their influence" against Slavery—when for them to speak was to sacrifice their daily bread. Now, being here, his single word, worth all the influence of all the emigrants who ever landed, and to be spoken at no cost—Father MATHEW means to do nothing at all in the premises.

We might suspect him to be a Jesuit, holding that the end justified the means—that, as lies were allowable in mother church's cause, so winking at Slavery might be for temperance sake. But then, how Xavier would have laughed at a Catholic Christian allowing human laws, or national lines, to stop the mouth of his rebuke! And so he cannot be a Jesuit, but is simply Father MATHEW Americanized! whether for better or worse, Ireland will determine.

Every Irishman, the victim of centuries of oppression, would, we should suppose, sympathize with the oppressed; and when we have seen it otherwise, in the emigrants that crowd our shores, we have attributed it to ignorance and degradation. But Father MATHEW, "the bright consummate flower" of your Isles, seems to seal up the lesson, and show your unhappy race side by side with the Saxon, the Protestant, the Puritan, Covenanter and Baptist, all races and all sects, who have ever failed to learn, in the school of their own persecution, sympathy for the persecuted.

But we shall never despair of Ireland while we remember the tried fidelity of O'CONNELL. HE NEVER SACRIFICED THE WEST INDIAN OR AMERICAN SLAVE EVEN TO IRELAND.

FOWELL BUXTON told me, and O'CONNELL himself has somewhere repeated the story, that when he first went into the House of Commons, the West India party, then strong enough to carry or defeat any measure, offered him support on his Irish questions, if he would absent himself from Anti Slavery meetings. His answer was, 'Come liberty, come Slavery to myself, I will never countenance Slavery at home or abroad. I will take my part at Anti-Slavery meetings; and though it should be a blow against Ireland, it is a blow in favour of human liberty, and I will strike that blow." Again, when the Repealers here threatened to withdraw their contributions, unless he would cease denouncing American slaveholders—what was his reply? "Let them blame me—let me be executed by them—LET THEIR SUPPORT BE TAKEN FROM IRELAND:—Slavery, I denounce you wherever you are! Come freedom, come oppression to Ireland, *let Ireland be as she may*, I have my conscience clear before my God! *Come good or evil*, I am the enemy of Slavery in every form." And on another occasion—"I ENTER INTO NO COMPROMISE WITH SLAVERY.'

A different tone this, from the "non-committal" of Ireland's living idol! Spite of the proverb, I think the dead lion the better of the two.

When HOWARD was dining with the English Ambassador at Vienna, he denounced in strong terms the prisons of Austria.

"Hush," said Sir Robert Keith, "your words will be reported to the Emperor."

"What!" exclaimed the model Englishman, "*shall this tongue of mine be tied from speaking truth by any King or Emperor in the world? I repeat what I asserted.*"

God grant the world another HOWARD, and may he visit these States!

Yours, truly,
WENDELL PHILLIPS.

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

Without Concealment---Without Compromise.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, AUGUST 30, 1849.

The Northern Party.

In our last article we said that there was a plan of [illegible] though not the right one, would be more effectual than any that has yet been attempted, as a mode of attacking Slavery. At least, that would be more effectual for the vindication of the rights and self-respect of the Free States. What we mean is a strictly Northern and Retaliatory Party, that shall be at least as zealous for Liberty as the South is for Slavery, and as strenuous for the maintenance of Northern rights as the slaveholders are for the integrity of their prescriptive privilege of piracy and their hereditary right of robbing the poor. A party that shall be no more scrupulous on this side of Mason's & Dixon's line than their Southern brethren are on the other. That will not hold itself bound to perform the articles of the National partnership contemplating the security of Slavery, as long as those parts of the same contract contemplating the security of Liberty are trampled under foot by their partners in the concern. That will maintain the natural law of Retaliation,—the great *Lex Talionis*,—which, whatever Christianity may say to the contrary, has been and is the main spring of all political, governmental and international machinery. That will, in short, insist upon the reduction to practice, in their favour of the principle contained in the vulgar but pregnant saying, that "what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander," and upon the application of the same cookery to its fellow in the National platter with which it has itself been served up any time these sixty years.

The great advantage which they of the South have always had over us of the North has been that they have ever regarded the Constitution of the United States as a dead letter whenever it interfered with their sectional policy; while the North, on the other hand, has consented to be bound by the clauses introduced as the safeguards of that policy, and yet submitted to be stripped of the very protection to its own rights which that consent was intended to buy. So the South has had all the benefit of the bargain without having to pay the consideration, and the North has been paying the consideration without ever perceiving the benefits promised by the bargain. Not only the rights of our coloured citizens have been denied to them, but the plainest rights of our white citizens, as in the case of Barrett, and of sovereign States, as in the case of Mr. Hoar, have been blown away as chaff when they came across the path of the strong necessities of Slavery. Now there is no reason why these things should be so forever. The North has as good a moral and political right to nullify the Constitution for its own purposes as the South. It is not a want of strength, or of means, that has kept her so tame and long-suffering. It has been rather a want of spirit and a cowardly fear of losing some material advantage, some opportunity of money-making, which has made her so insensible to wrong and insult. When she begins to understand her true interests as well as rights and dignity, then there will be an opportunity for political action in a new and more effectual direction. Not the highest or the best direction, but one every whit as honest, and infinitely more sensible and practical than any, the best form that Anti-Slavery politics have yet taken.

One advantage of this scheme would be that it would be carried out by any single State. Every State might be its own South Carolina. Let Massachusetts, for example, enact that a slave upon escaping to her soil becomes instantly a freeman, and a citizen and entitled to the protection of the State. Let her make it a State's-Prison offence for a master to take any steps for his recapture, or for any one to aid and abet him in such an attempt. And then let her also doom to the Penitentiary any one bringing an action before the United States Courts to test the Constitutionality of these laws, and the relative positions of the Northern and Southern States will be brought into something like analogy. Not complete, for to make it so, she should commit to jail every slaveholder who arrives within her boundaries and, if his fees are not paid when it is time for him to depart, send him to the State's Prison for life, which is the nearest approximation to the Slavery to which our free citizens have often been condemned for a like crime, that our institutions provide. About as good an argument could be made out for the one policy as for the other. For if Slavery be endangered there, as it doubtless is, by the presence of free men of colour, the nice sense of liberty is as truly injured here, by the evil communication of Slaveholders. It would be no more an outrage upon the Constitution and the Union for Massachusetts to pass and enforce such laws as these, than it is for South Carolina and Louisiana to maintain the integrity of their statute books. If the Constitution may be broken with impunity at one end, let us see if it will not survive a small fracture at the other. Perhaps the fracture if thus made compound, would knit the sooner, and the process end in the healing of the Nation. We are sure it would in the convalescence of this part of it.

It is by being true in the first place to their own interests that the slaveholders have possessed themselves of the control of the nation. It is only by a similar process that the Northern people can qualify themselves to contend successfully with them. Statesmanship, if not Charity, always begins at home. People should learn to manage their own affairs before they can reasonably expect to know how to govern those of the Nation. To be sure, we have had a good many examples of public-spirited citizens, who seem to consider that an inability to conduct their own private concerns is a sufficient qualification (at least the only one they display) for the direction of those of the public. As Chancellor Oxenstiern said it has taken but very little wisdom to govern the world. But, then, it must be acknowledged that the world has always been shockingly misgoverned. The Slaveholders have throughly understood their own interests, as such, and by carrying that knowledge to Washington, and never suffering themselves to be diverted from being guided by it, they have been too many for the divided and stupid North. In the thimble-rig of politics they have had the same advantage over us that a practised rogue at a Fair has over the bumpkins, who are so distracted with staring about them that they have no eye to the main chance. Now we shall never get our fair turn at the helm of the Nation till we have learned how to steer our own little cock-boats at home. We must learn wisdom even of our enemies, and be taught to conquer as Peter the Great was by Charles XII. and Alexander by Napoleon, by being beaten. We, certainly, have had enough of the instructions. It is our own fault if we do not better them.

The most effective blows that can be dealt at Slavery, by political action, are those which can be given in the Northern legislatures, if they will but follow the lead of their Southern partners. If the General Court of Massachusetts will only ordain that a Slave shall find a sanctuary in the Bay State, and be protected by her entire physical force, Union or no Union, Constitution or no Constitution, we apprehend it would excite a good deal more genuine sensation in the South than was caused here by the expulsion of Mr. Hoar, and the insulting legislation that followed it. For it would show that she was in earnest, and that her people were resolved to let the Constitution stand as little in the way of Liberty as it had been permitted to do in that of Slavery. And if she would but make an attempt at recapture, or, an application to the United States Courts in the premises, a penal offence, we think there is little doubt that it would soon bring about a settlement of the Slavery question. And how much more honourable and ingenuous a course would it be for Anti-Slavery politicians to endeavour to accomplish this state of things, openly and above board, than to be swearing to support the Constitution of the United States, and then by way of balm to their consciences helping to conceal or to escape as many fugitive slaves as come in their way! How many of our legislators are there, probably, of the more respectable class, who would not declare that they would defend a fugitive slave to the utmost, or at least do their best to assist his escape, if his master were in pursuit? And yet this is the very thing they have sworn not to do, before they could take their seats! If men must disregard their oaths, in order to reconcile the exercise of power with their natural humanity, how much more manly and honest, to do it before Israel and the sun? Instead of hiding a fugitive in his garret, or spiriting him away under cover of night, let him lead him by the hand into the presence of the legislature and tell him, and his master, that whatever the Constitution may say, Massachusetts knows no man but as a freeman, and will protect him as such to the last drop of her blood.

We do not commend this course as absolutely right. We only say that it is quite as consistent and infinitely more upright than that pursued or proposed by the best Anti-Slavery politicians. It is the only way in which Northern men can be even with the Slaveholders, and fight them on equal terms, while acting under the Constitution. A party formed for such an object would have the great advantage over the Third and the Free Soil parties of having an actual and attainable object of pursuit. The several Northern States can be made actually Free States, by the same open nullification of all parts of the Constitution maintaining Slavery, that the Southern States have made of those parts maintaining Liberty. And with quite as little sacrifice of principle and false swearing as is necessary to make the two ends of political expediency and natural humanity meet, now. The highest ground, of course, is that maintained by the Northern Disunionists, who refuse to take an oath they do not mean to keep, and who do their best to procure a Dissolution of the Union, of which the Constitution is the blood-cemented compact, in order that a more perfect Union may be framed with a juster and more righteous Constitution as its bond. This is the only absolutely right and upright mode of agitating the Slave question, and to Dissolution, coming from the South or the North, do we believe that it will finally resolve itself. But, in the meantime, we would advise all persons who think political action, in the shape of voting, to be the only effectual method, to try the experiment of NULLIFICATION as opposed to DISUNION. Indeed, it can hardly be called an *experiment*, when it has been tried with such perfect success at the other end of the country. We commend the idea, in all seriousness, to the consideration of our voting Anti-Slavery friends, being assured that a Northern Nullification Party would do all that politics can do for the molestation of Slavery, and in the most effectual and least objectionable way.—E. Q.

J. M. Barrett.

Each week as it passes sheds some new light upon this curious and interesting case. That Barrett is guilty of having circulated among the subject non-slaveholders of South Carolina certain political information neither pleasing nor profitable to the sovereign slaveholders, there can hardly be a doubt, and it would seem that his conviction and punishment therefore will not be difficult under the Statute of South Carolina, passed in 1820, and which enacts that "any white person who shall directly or indirectly circulate, *bring or cause to be brought* within the State any written or printed paper, with intent to disturb the peace or security of the State, in relation to the slaves thereof, upon conviction, shall be fined not exceeding One Thousand Dollars, and imprisoned not exceeding one year."—There is another law of the same State which makes it a capital offence to stimulate, or attempt to stimulate, an insurrection among the slaves, but of this Barrett is only suspected, and probably without foundation, though a suspicion would be enough to hang him, were there not certainty enough to secure him a year's imprisonment and a heavy fine.

Barrett and his friends, however, seem desirous of showing that he is entirely innocent of what is charged against him, or if in any degree guilty that he is the unfortunate victim of the machinations of others. It is a pity that he and they were not made of sterner stuff, and that instead of attempting to prove him innocent of the act of circulating the "Brutus" pamphlet in South Carolina, they should not only maintain the act itself to be an innocent one, one which he had a perfect right to commit, but, if need be, to appeal to the Supreme Court of the U. S. to test that question. By so doing they could not probably injure Barrett, and might aid, in a great degree, the elucidation of the question,—which is the Sovereign Power, the Federal Government or the State of South Carolina.

The letter of S. H. Chase which was one of those found upon Barrett, and which we copied two or three weeks ago from the *Spartan*, will be remembered by those who take an interest in his case. Mr. Chase has published the following in relation to it, in the *Cincinnati Enquirer:*

MR. EDITOR—Sir: On looking over the columns of your paper, my attention was called to an article purporting to be a communication from myself to Mr. John M. Barrett, now in South Carolina. The shameful perversions of that letter, as well as the unpardonable errors into which the compositor has run, not only makes the letter appear ridiculous, but by an unnatural and forced construction, is interpreted as furnishing additional and increasing evidence of Mr. Barrett's guilt. And as you took occasion, doubtless from the best of motives, to spread the proceedings of this strange affair before the numerous readers of your paper, and as an honest and virtuous citizen is likely to suffer by the false constructions put upon my letter, as well as others which he has received, you will doubtless give me the opportunity of correcting and explaining said communication in the same paper where it appeared. Whether it was a design on their part to garble my letter, after having violated a private seal, or whether it was the result of ignorance, the public will be left to judge, when the corrections are made.

The first thing I notice as an attempt at perversion, is in the prayer made for Barrett's welfare, wishing him well, soul and body, (they say "sole") intimating that I had reference to the use he might have to make of his feet in running away.

2. The reference made to my visiting Dublin, Indiana, and a certain debate between myself and Dr. Curtis, in which Dr. Snyder, (or *Singar*, as they call him,) and Dr. Smith took a part, where I represent Barrett's father as being present. This was a medical discussion throughout, between three physicians of different schools, the particulars of which have been given to the public long since. The "*Spartan*" thinks this was an Abolition debate. What a remarkably fine imagination the Editor of this little paper seems to have?

3. The remarks that I made concerning Barrett's father being well pleased and thinking "it a fine thing," meant that he was pleased that his son was engaged in an honourable business, and that he was travelling for his health, which had been very precarious for some time.

4. They make me say that the people of Dublin was glad to see me "doon" my enemies. It should have read, "The people of Dublin, was glad to see me, even my enemies." This remark referred to a former discussion which had elicited some unpleasant feeling on both sides.

5. The reference made to our little society in Dublin, was a small Church recently founded in that place.

6. They say the panorama will commence its exhibition in College Hall "*Sabbath*" evening—should be Saturday evening. I stated that I saw one of Barrett's letters. This was a description of his trials, and not one allusion was made in the letter to the subject of Slavery or slaveholding. This was read before a literary association, well known in this city by its monthly lectures, which for the sake of brevity, I called our "Pb."

A copy of this wonderful letter has been sent, I learn, by Harwood & Co. to Spartanburg, South Carolina.

8th. The caution given to Barrett when he should reach the South, I think is not to be wondered at, when it is remembered that for some months prior to his departure, and even after he had left, the tone of the press in South Carolina, as I stated, had been very "firey," and the public mind much excited on the subject of Slavery. I had seen for some time, from their public journals, that they were charging the whole country with design upon their peculiar Institution, they seemed to think some one had magnetized the wires, instead of "*mantized*," as they will have it, and they did not profess to know who had done it.

Now I submit the matter to the judgment of a candid public, whether in view of all the facts connected with this matter, as well as other letters whose seals they have not scrupled to break, with all the garbling and false construction they have been pleased to put upon them, the authorities of Spartanburg, South Carolina, are justified in watching and seizing a citizen of a sister State, who was engaged in an honest business, travelling for his health, and casting him into prison, and retaining him in close confinement during the summer months, and holding him to the highest bail the laws require, merely on suspicion, arising from letters sent to his address, or placed in his hands to be dropped into the Post Office, the contents of which he was entirely ignorant, until they broke the seal, in not one of which the word Slavery is found.

Had it not have been that my young friend seemed likely to suffer from the false construction given to a private letter written in haste, I should have passed it by without any attention whatever. But permit me to say that the whole affair is not only one of the most ridiculous exhibitions of weakness and folly, but furnishes one of the most striking evidences of the workings of a heartless despotism in the history of the nineteenth century. In closing this communication, allow me to ask, ought not active measures to be taken immediately by the authorities of this State, of which Barrett was last a citizen, to secure his release from prison before his feeble health sinks under the confinement of a prison dungeon? Who is responsible for this matter?

S. H. CHASE.

August 6th, 1849.

The people of Spartanburg—who named their town, we presume, from their admiration of the Spartan virtue of theft, and in which they seem accomplished—have not yet overcome the weakness of their Postmaster, Legg, in their efforts to procure the letters addressed to Thomson, to which we have heretofore referred. A correspondent of the *Spartan*, in the last number of that paper explains how the contents of that letter were ascertained thus:

In regard to the letter you speak of, which the authorities of the State [illegible] to have a peep at, it is sufficient to say, that in a letter directed to Barrett from an anonymous correspondent, written enigmatically, and which we found very difficult to decipher, he is instructed to call at the P. O. at Spartanburg and inquire for a letter for J. Edward Thomson, (a man of straw) take it out, go to his room and open it, that in the letter he will find another, directed to the Post Master General which he will deposite in some convenient P. O.; he is also instructed to be cautious and not let it fall into other hands, for there is matter therein contained which may give him trouble. You will perceive, this letter although directed to Thomson, is intended for Barrett, as it is morally certain there is no such man as Thomson; who is to be injured by opening this letter? The letter is in the same situation as if it had no direction upon it, and you will perceive at a glance the importance to the authorities of obtaining it, as it may contain matter of vital importance to the State; and under the circumstances, it is perfectly ridiculous to talk about the sacredness of seals. Are seals intended to envelope treason, and prevent the authorities of a sovereign State from forretting out the traitors? Why it is perfectly absurd!

Wherever freedom of opinion is treason against the State the absurdity will not be questioned.

A Case under the "Compromises."

The Baltimore correspondent of the Tribune relates the particulars of a case, of what he calls kidnapping, which occurred last week in that city:

An outrageous case of kidnapping occurred this week and came to light yesterday, which deserves of the severest condemnation, about all in this poor, benighted State we can hope for it legally to receive. A coloured man named Albert, who had run away from his owner, a Mrs. Hays, of Cecil county, Md. was kidnapped on Wednesday by officer McCreery, of Elkton, Md. in Chester county, Pa. and yesterday afternoon brought on to this city and lodged in Wilson's slave-prison. Albert ranaway four years since, and during that period has been employed by a Quaker gentleman, Mr. George Martin, of Chester County, Pa. acting in the capacity of a free man. His whereabouts being ascertained he was stealthily kidnapped and torn away to endure again the worst of bondage, for he was brought here to be sold to the slave-traders of the Southern States, and unless purchased by philanthropic friends will, ere long, be in Louisiana. Mr. Martin, his former employer, followed on with a view of obtaining his release by some means, but no sooner had he touched the *free* soil of Baltimore than he was arrested at the instance of the slave-dealers and suit instituted against him to recover $1,000 alleged to be due as damages for Albert's services and detention for the four years. And Mr. Martin, under our benign laws, was held to answer the suit at the next term of our Court. A writ of *habeas corpus* is talked of to-day, but I do not know with what object. A greater outrage on the rights and liberties of a citizen of an adjoining State has not been perpetrated for a long period. Northern men, who have human feeling in their bosoms, should beware how they place themselves in the power of these Southern slaveholders, for their desperation, seeing the hand-writing on the wall, drives them to every expedient and extremity.

The case is 'outrageous' enough, and the writer is not one whit too indignant in relating it, he is wrong, however, to call it 'kidnapping,' as Mrs. Hays in attempting to recover her fugitive property was simply asserting her rights under the Constitution; officer McCreery in capturing that property was only fulfilling the duties of his office; the arrest of George Martin was strictly in accordance with the spirit of our institutions, as well as the letter of our laws. The real kidnapper is Albert himself, who picked up his own body and ran away with it to the detriment of the cause of peace and good government in the sovereign State of Maryland, and to the private injury of Mrs. Hays: and George Martin has violated the Constitution of his country, and broken the laws of the land, in aiding and abetting such a crime, and harbouring the criminal, whose guilt was as plain as the nose on his face, which belonged to poor Mrs. Hays, and which he—Albert—had, with the rest of himself, run away with. It is strange that people who advocate an adherence to the 'Compromises,' and can't be indignant enough with the fanatical Abolitionists who denounce and refuse to obey them, when a case comes up which involves obedience to the Constitution as a natural result, however cruel, of its character, are as lachrymose as Niobe, and call Heaven to witness their humanity. If the 'Compromises' are a good thing, and the Constitution a glorious instrument, here is the proof of it in this incident—they were made for just such cases as that of Albert and George Martin.

P. S. A more particular account of this case may be found in the interesting letter of our Baltimore correspondent received since the above was in type.

The Slave-Trade Considered as the Cause of Yellow Fever.

A correspondent of the *Evening Post* gives the following extract, from a Memoir by M. Audouard, published in the weekly journals of the sittings of the Academy of Sciences in Paris. "Shall I not visit for these things, saith the Lord;" and in this case the visitation falls, as is not always the case, in what are called divine retributions, on the guilty parties, as Yellow Fever is chiefly confined to those that are, or have been, Slaveholding countries:

"The origin of the yellow fever cannot be traced to any particular country. Warm climates are favourable to the cause which produces it—a cause which it is in the power of man to do away with, because it resides in an infection peculiar to certain structures for the reception of negroes. To give an idea of this infection, it is sufficient to observe, that on many occasions slave ships have been seized in which the slaves '*roulaient au milieu de leurs ordures*.' From thence followed corruption of wood, of tar, and of everything in the interior of the ship, and the production of a focus of infection which was not extinguished until after having run through all the degrees of putrid decomposition. Let it be added that for such extinction, days and months even have not been sufficient.

"The last two epidemics of yellow fever that have afflicted Spain, and of which the author of this paper was a witness, that of Barcelona, in 1821, and that of the '*Port du Passage*,' in 1821, came from ships which had served in the slave trade before being laden with colonial products from Havana. At the time of their departure from that port, the yellow fever did not prevail there. They did not export, therefore, a morbific production from that country; yet they gave the yellow fever at Barcelona and at the 'Passage.' And what demonstrates clearly that they had the cause of it within their sides, is, that the carpenters employed to repair them died, nearly all of them, of yellow fever, in a very few days, and were the first victims of these two epidemics. Their operations disclosed the putrescence concealed in the sides of the ships, and the heat of August and September contributed powerfully to disengage the deadly emanations.

"This single fact, that the ships sailed from a point of the western continent at which the yellow fever did not exist, and conveyed this disease to two ports of Europe, overturns all received notions of the origin of yellow fever. For the disease is not due to the American climate, since it is produced in Europe by ships from Havana, at a time when it did not prevail there. It has not its origin in Europe, because Spain never suffered from it before the discovery of America, and America itself has not been afflicted with it for over two hundred years. The disease now called yellow fever, was at first named the 'Sickness of Siam,' because its appearance at Martinique, in 1694, coincided with the presence in the ports of that island of some ships which had come from the Gulf of Siam; an error in the denomination of the disease which the lapse of time rendered manifest. The probability is, that at this time began to be felt the effects of the slave trade, because at this epoch it began to be carried on very actively, governments encouraging and even authorizing it, by letters patent to certain companies, to carry it on on a grand scale. These companies, however, engaging in a commerce which the laws protected, and disposing of large capital, were very soon able, enlightened by experience, to incur the necessary expenses for receiving the slaves on board in such a manner as to secure them from the loss of as many as possible on the voyage. Interest thus imposed the necessity of observing certain rules of hygiene.

"The Revolution having brought on the war between England and France, the labours of these companies ceased, and the trade was conducted by ships of commerce which were not constructed for the purpose. Indeed, those which have since been constructed, expressly for the trade, have been worse still; because, the better to escape cruisers, they must be fine sailers, and consequently unfitted for ships of transport. In some instances, the avarice of those engaged, stowed the slaves in great numbers below, with few keepers, who did not suffer them to come on deck to relieve their necessities, but chained them in groups, in which, if a man happened to die, the survivors had often to remain a day or more in contact with the corpse. Such was the trade during the maritime war; and from 1793, it appears that the foci of infection derived from it, becoming more numerous and deadly, rendered the yellow fever more frequent in America, and especially in Spain, where it had scarcely been known until then. From the year 1800, the date of the great epidemic, which carried off 61,362 of the inhabitants of Andalusia, the yellow fever prevailed nearly every year in Spain till 1823, the date of the yellow fever at the 'Passage.' In 1821 the author of this memoir maintained, before the Academy of Sciences, that the yellow fever of Barcelona, and of the 'Passage,' came from ships which had just been employed in the trade in negroes—ships which he designated as foci of a specific infection, producing a specific malady, which was the yellow fever—whence he concluded that the climate of either continent had but a secondary action, which was confined to giving greater activity to the foci of infection created by the trade. The event has justified these assertions, because since 1824, Spain has not suffered from the yellow fever, whilst during the twenty-eight years anterior, this malady had carried off 140,000 of its inhabitants. But it must be known, in connection with this fact, that that country has, from time to time, been on its guard against ships which have been employed in the trade."

White and Black Slaves.

A Dublin Quaker, called Webb, who writes for the *Anti-Slavery Standard*, offers the following reflections in his last letter:

"I have recently remarked in F. Douglass's speeches repeated complaints of the insolence of Irish emigrants to the coloured people. He has been in Ireland. He knows how ignorant are the great mass of the people—how little have they been accustomed to think for themselves—how low their social condition; and he must also be philosopher enough to know that under these circumstances he could not hope to gather grapes of thorns or figs of thistles. Our people are only what their political oppressors and their blind guides have made them. In the whole course of the Young Ireland struggle, the ablest men of the party—DAVIS, DUFFY, and others—had no sympathy for the Abolitionists, and looked for sufficient support to the staunchest maintainers of Slavery in the world. How could I have confidence in them? How could I anticipate success for their endeavours?"

Mr. Webb deals very gently with the sins of "F. Douglass," who has, on various occasions, taken opportunity to repeat the stale slang which he has picked up, during his tours in England, about the Irish race. But the Irish citizens of this country can afford to forget the existence of F. Douglass and his impertinences, having much more formidable and onerous burthens to bear than his second-hand calumnies.

Neither need the Irish patriots in Ireland feel at all discouraged if Mr. Webb cannot "put confidence" in them. Their task is to liberate their own slaves not to travel across the Atlantic for foreign objects of sympathy. The charity that is so constantly far abroad that it can never be found "at home," may be very comprehensive and very exalted, but we venture to dispute its efficiency as our earth is constituted. His intolerable and uncalled for interference in the domestic affairs of this country was precisely one of the prime errors of Mr. O'Connell's life. But, however fanatics on either side of the Atlantic may assail him, we feel confident Mr. Duffy will not alter the independent and truly patriotic course first taken by him in the old NATION—a course which has caused Ireland to be remembered with some respect in America and France when the sins and errors of others went far towards eradicating sympathy for her and her cause.—*The (New York) Nation.*

Whether Thomas D'Arcey McGee, the editor of the *Nation*, has only the right to the distinction which he here assumes of being, even that somewhat questionable character, an 'Irish Patriot,' or whether he is not in fact also one of that larger class of patriots who leave their country for their country's good, he having, if report says truly, especially earned that praise by being careful to leave his own before he ran the risk of being involved in the difficulties which O'Brien and his companions brought upon themselves by their mad attempt at revolution, he bears, at any rate, the clearest testimony to the truth of Mr. Webb's allegation. How could I have confidence, says Mr. Webb, in those men who looked for sufficient support to the staunchest maintainers of Slavery in the world? And Mr. D'Arcey McGee, a pensioner upon the American people, a refugee in a foreign land, a dependant upon foreign charity, a beggar for aid to Ireland from foreigners, with an impudence, truly Irish in its extravagance, though Irish in nothing else, replies in the ribald tone of American pro-slavery, with a protest against foreign interference,—an objection which, were it of any sort of validity, would condemn the whole body of American sympathizers with Ireland for the last year or two, and for a portion of that time, at least, would probably have taken the bread out of the mouth of this very D'Arcey M'Gee. This abuse of O'Connell for his Anti-Slavery, and this evidence of how entirely qualified a 'Young Irelander' is to be a plantation overseer, is the best justification of those who, like Mr. Webb, in Ireland, had no confidence in the proposed Irish revolution.

American Slavery and Turkish Freedom.

Lieut. Lynch in his "Expedition to the Dead Sea," speaking of the cultivation of cotton in Turkey, describes a plantation of 2,000 acres near San Stefano, cultivated by a Dr. Davis of South Carolina. Of the effect of Turkish law on American slaves, he states a fact which is a striking commentary on our republicanism. He says:

"Dr. Davis has brought some of his own slaves from the United States, who are best acquainted with the cotton culture. So far from being a mere transposition of Slavery from one country to another, the very act of removal is a guaranty of emancipation to the slave. By a law of the Ottoman Empire, no one within its limits can be held in Slavery for a period exceeding seven years. Should the culture of the cotton plant succeed in this region, very many thousands of additional hands will be required. In that event, the Ottoman Empire will present a most eligible field for the amelioration of the condition of the free negro of our own country.

That is, we must seek the dominion of the "Turban'd Turk" to carry into practise the boast of American Democracy that "all men are born free and equal." That there is nothing in natural law to prevent it, Mr. Calhoun to the contrary notwithstanding, he shows by a statement which is "incendiary" enough to bring his book within the purview of the Southern statutes:

In Turkey every coloured person employed by the Government receives monthly wages; and if a slave, is emancipated at the expiration of seven years, then he becomes eligible to any office beneath the sovereignty. Many of the high dignitaries of the Empire were originally slaves; the present Governor of the Dardanelles is a black, and was, a short time since, freed from servitude. There is here no prejudice founded on distinction of colour. The avenues of preferment are open to all, and he who is most skillful, accomplished, and persevering, be his complexion ruddy, brown or black, he is most certain of success.

FATHER MATHEW.—A HOAX.—The New York *National Anti-Slavery Standard* (July 12) contains an address of the "promising" Young Ireland sort, the value of such promises being understood, and the reverend gentleman's answer, which reads to us very like a hoax. Would Father Mathew have returned an answer with passages like these so different to all he has formerly professed? "Nothing but the overwhelming necessities of my position could induce me to accept any pecuniary aid from the British Government. Nor need I assure you that I cannot so far forget the duty I owe to humanity, as to identify myself even in thought with the workings of that heartless and unchristian policy, which consigns thousands of brave and virtuous Irishmen to starvation, disease, and premature death.—*Jerrold's News.*

Our esteemed contemporary, if he be in earnest in doubting our statement, may be assured that we only copied what is perfectly well known here to be an authentic letter. The *News* will find by referring to the more recent numbers of the *Standard* that the Rev. Father did not stop, in lamenting the hard necessity of being a beneficiary of the British Government, with repudiating abroad what he had so often said and done at home. His friends in Great Britain and Ireland, if they could not credit the fact of his first oblation to American prejudice, will be the more grieved and surprised when they hear of the second.

☞ A Correspondent of *The Herald*, writing from Baltimore, says that a bill has been found by the Grand Jury against a Mr. Janoway, of London county, Va. for publishing Anti-Slavery articles in the newspapers. We presume it to be Samuel Janney, a well-known Friend and Emancipationist of Va. who is meant, though we have not heard from any other source that he had been prosecuted for adhering to the testimony of his Society.

☞ Among the acknowlegments of letters received, made by the Committee of Arrangments for First of August Celebration at Buffalo, is one of Hon. Millard Fillmore. Why do they not publish it? Any information in regard to the character of the present Administration is thankfully received all over the country, and this letter of Mr. Fillmore will no doubt shed some light upon it. Pray, let us have it, gentlemen.

☞ A large meeting was held in the Park in this city, on Monday afternoon, to extend American sympathy to the Hungarians, in their desperate struggle for independence. The meeting was enthusiastic and very large; the enthusiasm for freedom being, in this country, and especially in this city, governed by a strictly mathematical rule,—increasing or decreasing according as the squares of the distance increase or diminish of those in whose behalf the sympathy is demanded. The character of the speakers at these meetings is regulated by the same principle. The democracy of Tammany Hall and Mike Walsh, and the Whigism of the *Courier & Enquirer*, were absolutely rampant at the Hungarian meeting.

Domestic Correspondence.

From our Boston Correspondent.

NO. XLV.

THE ARGUMENT.—*The Correspondent relateth deeds of War.—The Encampment at Quincy.—Railways considered from a military standpoint.—Major Sturgeon born an age too soon.—Fortunate Weather.—Moral Philosophy of Cock's tails.—Moral effect of Camps, whether real or mock.—Temperance and Militia Reforms.—The Cadets.—Their Origin, Object and Destiny.—The Correspondent disparageth their Uniform.—"The Governor's Blackguards"—He speculateth psychologically.—The Militia System in Massachusetts.—Growing scarcity of Generals and Colonels.—Uselessness of Militia.—Mayor Lyman and the Garrison Mob.—Next trial in Mr. Palfrey's District.—The Correspondent expresseth his hopes and fears.—He illustrateth by a haggis and Gibraltar.—He adviseth touching Foxes' tails.—He giveth the best advice and exhortation.—The Taylorites.—Gov. Briggs and Mr. Mann.—A nut for Garrisonian Free Soilers to crack.—&c. &c. &c.*

BOSTON, August 18, 1849.

Since I wrote to you last our peaceful neighbourhood has resounded with the din of arms and the clash of martial music. The drum and "the vile squeaking of the wry-necked fife" have entered into our "houses ears, I mean our casements" and aroused within us thoughts of glory and of blood. For you must know that our wise law-givers, anxious for the safety of the Common Weal, and naturally wishing to know whether the constitutions of our citizen soldiers were capable of enduring the fatigues of actual service, have ordained that they shall perform camp duty for the space of two days and two nights, exposed to all the hardships and dangers attendant upon a summer's campaign of forty-eight hours duration. Accordingly, this year, a spot in Quincy, not far from the River Neponset, was selected for this arduous service. I remember the spot well, it being the place where my martial ardour was first kindled by the spectacle of a Review, in the good old days of Militia Musters, and where my sporting propensities were first encouraged by the sight of a regular horse race; both those popular amusements having long since fallen sacrifices to advancing Civilization and improving Common Sense. It had, moreover, the advantage of convenient vicinage to a Rail-way, the benefits of which improved mode of locomotion are largely shared by our self-devoted heroes who

"Draw the voluntary blade,"

In the cause of cock's tails and their country. What "marches and countermarches" would not this invention have saved that gallant commander Major Sturgeon, "from London to Acton, from Acton to Ealing, from Ealing to Brentford and from Brentford back to London again," had it but been known in his time!

The camp being duly marked out, according to the rules of castrametation, the Boston Brigade took possession of it, and bravely maintained its ground for the appointed time against all attacks of lumbagoes, rheumatisms and colds in the head. Fortunately, the weather proved fine, which not only kept them in dry as well as whole skins, but was favourable to that concourse of spectators without which our military defenders would soon lose heart and disband. For gold lace and cock's tails are not of the number of those virtues which are their own reward. Their services must be seen of men (and of women,) to be efficacious and acceptable. Who would be at the trouble to dress himself up in livery if there were no one to look at him but himself? As to the mysteries of drills and parades it fits not me to speak, and of the secrets of the tents and of the unbounded hospitality therein exercised and renowned in the penny papers, as none were revealed to me, they are entirely safe in my keeping. But of the scenes of debauchery and riot displayed by the camp followers just without its precincts, the drunkenness, the gambling, the cheating, the stealing, and unmentionable *et cæteras*, they were no secrets at all. It is observable that even a make-believe camp always attracts around itself the most real and palpable vice and debauchery. If it do not create them, it developes and brings them to light. It is a fact, too, that the Temperance Reformation did not begin to take hold of the community until the militia mania was well nigh over. If the militia system has not much blood of its enemies on its hands, it has enough of that of its own members, who could trace back their degradation, ruin and death to the habits it had created and promoted.

The Cadets, also, or the Governor's Guard have had a tour of camp-duty to Worcester, whither they, too, were conveyed by the facile expedition of steam. This corps was incorporated about a century ago, and its

NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

Captain and Lieutenants have respectively the rank of Lieut. Colonel and Majors. It was originally intended, as its name implies, that it should be composed of the younger sons of gentlemen, as a guard of honour for His Excellency. But, after a variety of ups and downs, its expensiveness suiting ill with the pockets of most young men, it has reverted into the hands of a respectable body of middle-aged and elderly gentlemen, some of them grand papas, who think it not shame to be accounted fools, so the Governor is protected, and the Cadets kept up. Their uniform is said to be very expensive, though it looks for all the world as if it were dirty white flannel turned up with dirty red flannel. But I don't suppose it is. Some fifteen years ago they changed their uniform to black and gold, which gave occasion to some wag to christen them the Governor's *black guards*; by which *soubriquet* they were known, generally, until they returned to their former colours. It is a curious psychological problem, what the principle of human nature can be that makes men willing to be *privates* in volunteer companies. It is easy to understand the philosophy of the officering of them. But why it is men are willing to go to the necessary expense of money and time and all for the glorification of three or four men in epaulettes, is a fact which can only find its explanation in the general gullibility of mankind, or the taste they have contracted and fostered for being cheated.

The history of the Militia System here is, I suppose, what it has been, and will be soon, in all the Free States. For about a generation after the Revolution it was in a flourishing condition, its ramifications extended into every town, the principal gentlemen were ambitious of being its officers, its parades and musters were general holidays, and everybody agreed that the body politic could not exist without its support and defence. But as a new generation arose, its utility began to be doubted, its burdens to be complained of, its absurdities noted and laughed at. And now our Militia System consists only of an enrolment of all men between certain ages, not to be called upon except in case of actual service, and the volunteer companies which receive a small sum (five dollars, I believe) per man, annually. These are chiefly confined to the large cities, so that the old race of Generals, Colonels and Majors, who once swarmed in every village is fast dying out, and it will soon be hard to find one for love or money. The entire inutility of the system, as one of protection, is becoming yearly more apparent and ere long it will be purely voluntary, if it continue, and without any countenance from the State. That it is useless as an education for fighting the Volunteers to Mexico proved, who fought as well, some of them at first and all of them in a little time as regular troops. Man is naturally a fighting animal and takes to it kindly and easily. Nothing is so easy to be found or made as a soldier. And as to protection from mobs, we are in danger from no mobs except such as are composed of the very sort of men who make up the Volunteer companies. When Mr. Garrison asked the Mayor, when the mob was clamouring for his blood, how he excused himself on his own principles from calling out the military, though he did not ask or wish him to do so; Mr. Lyman replied emphatically and truly, pointing to the mob, "*because the military is all there!*"

The Governor and Council have appointed the 10th of September for the next trial in Mr. Palfrey's district. It is to be hoped that the Free Soilers will be warned by the failure of their quietistic policy the last time, and take the very little pains necessary to secure his election. I have heard, though I can hardly credit it, that they do not intend "doing anything to excite the other parties," this time! That they propose only acting by committees, privately, and not by open agitation! Such folly is almost incredible. It would be *quite*, were it not for the history of the last election. The Whigs can afford to be quiet. They have *vis inertiæ* enough for all their purposes, if it be not counteracted by a strong opposing force. "Even a beggar, God bless her, can charge down hill!" It is all down-hill work with them and the democrats, and all up-hill work with the Free Soilers. When a hostile force proposes to take Gibraltar, it does not usually spike its guns in hopes of outwitting the garrison and carrying it by surprise. Gibraltar can stand still very well, and can afford to be quiet. It is they who would take it that must make a thundering noise and serve the guns as well as they may. I would not advise the Free Soil foxes to cut their tails off in hopes that the Taylorite Reynards will follow their example. It would be much more to the purpose if some strong man among them would catch a dozen of them (there's no occasion for three hundred) and "take firebrands and turn tail to tail, and put a firebrand in the midst between two tails" and drive them among the standing corn of the Philistines. It would be enough to settle the question. But, though they have the foxes I fear they lack the strong man to set them on.

The only thing for the Free Soilers to do, if they desire success, is to take the District up by the nape of the neck and shake it until it is willing to behave itself to their liking. The general mind is to be aroused, agitated, alarmed, made sensible of the guilt and danger of the North in the matter of Slavery, and the personal responsibility of every man therein. There are a dozen men in and about Boston, ready speakers, of weight with their party, of general reputation to attract audiences, who could make the District rock from end to end, if they would but take the pains. If they will not, Mr. Palfrey will not be elected. And if he be not elected now, there is little likelihood that he ever will be hereafter. Parties do not grow stronger by defeats. They never had a fairer field or a better chance of success. Now is the time that will show whether they are competent to carry through what they have undertaken, or whether they have commenced a warfare the cost of which they had not counted. If they have not the political sagacity to see the importance of a desperate struggle, at this time, or are too fine gentlemen to engage in it, they may be sure that this adventure is reserved for some other knights errant. Their game is up, because they have not the spirit to play it out. Already the Taylorites are ready to show their contempt for them by re-nominating Governor Briggs for re-election. When they thought they had some reason to fear them, they proposed taking Mr. Mann, the trump card of this delegation from Congress, and degrading him into a Governor. But now, and no wonder, they think Gov. Briggs quite enough of an antagonist for the Free Soilers. They do not believe them to be heartily in earnest,—and they have reason. The tenth of September will go far towards confirming or contradicting these opinions. At any rate, I think those of our friends who have been tempted to go after Free Soil, must be convinced that a scheme of action which does not inspire a more enduring enthusiasm, and a more dogged determination, is not the one that is to overthrow or even to control such an institution as American Slavery.—D.

Letter from Baltimore.

Painfully interesting Slave Case.—Excitement growing out of it.—Imprisonment of a Pennsylvania Patriot.—Triumph of Justice.—Aspects in Baltimore.—Duty of the Friends of Freedom in the premises, &c. &c. &c.

BALTIMORE, August 26th, 1849.

A "slave case" of such interesting features has just come off in this city, that I have thought it well to give the facts to the "Standard." They are substantially these:

On Thursday morning, a telegraphic dispatch was received, through Bain's line, from Wilmington, Delaware, in the following words:

"*John Needles*: Black man, Thomas Mitchell, was kidnapped last night, Unionville, Penn. Watch the cars on arrival, and telegraph back, as messengers are in waiting. THOMAS GARRETT."

Mr. Needles being absent from home, the dispatch was sent to Dr Snodgrass, with the request that he would take the matter in hand. A policeman was dispatched to the inner depot of the Philadelphia and Baltimore road, while the Doctor himself proceeded to the President-street depot, and there boarded the "Jim Crow Car." He at once espied a black man in irons, under the charge of a white man. The intention was to arrest the parties, and take them before a magistrate for examination on the alleged circumstances. But, on arriving at the inner depot, and pointing out the supposed parties, the officer declined to make the arrest, seeing that they were joined by Officer Zell, and escorted to Wilson's (late Donovan's) slave prison, and the appearances not being deemed such as to justify an arrest, especially without any "warrant." Some facts of importance were, however, ascertained, and communicated to the "messengers" referred to in the telegraphic despatch of Mr. Garrett, which were of importance in the subsequent proceedings. The history of what followed, as well as of some of the antecedents, is given with tolerable fullness—certainly with remarkable fairness for a regular Democratic organ in a slave State—the *Daily Argus* of yesterday, and I therefore quote it *verbatim*:

"The coloured man has resided in the neighbourhood of Unionville, Chester county, Pa. for the last ten years as a free negro, and has passed as such everywhere in the neighbourhood, no one suspecting him of being a slave. He has always represented himself to be a free man, and since his residence in Philadelphia has married, and has one child now living.—The name by which he was known, and by which he has hitherto been recognized among his acquaintances, was Thomas Mitchell. Between 12 and 1 o'clock, on Wednesday night, the 22d inst. a noise was heard by the neighbours, caused by the breaking in of the doors of Mitchell's dwelling, and immediately after the cry of "murder," accompanied by screams and groans.

"Several persons in the immediate vicinity were alarmed, and promptly proceeded to the house, when they found that it had been entered, and Mitchell torn from his bed, and carried forcibly away.

"The case was immediately suspected to be one of kidnapping, and at four o'clock on Thursday morning, several persons who had known Mitchell started out in different directions to find out what disposition had been made of him. From the statement of the wife, who lay in a truly pitiable condition, having been almost distracted from the occurrence of her husband's seizure, and the threats made against her by those who made the arrest, it was thought the conveyance had gone towards Kennett Square, and several of the neighbours had seen a carriage passing rapidly in that direction. It fell to the lot of George Martin and Samuel Pinnock to proceed towards Elkton, and they continued, in hopes of gathering some information, as far as Havre-de-Grace, when they observed the negro in the "Jim Crow" car, on his way to Baltimore, in custody of a constable named McCreery, from Elkton. Having gone thus far they proceeded to Baltimore, and found the negro had been taken to Wilson's jail, in Pratt street. Here Mr. Martin was allowed a conversation with the negro, he having been released by the officer when in the cars to speak to him. Mitchell acknowledged himself to have been a slave, and asked that something might be done for him and his wife and child, and Martin started out with the object of seeing whether means could not be devised to purchase the negro and set him free.—Whilst engaged in this undertaking, the negro had told the agent that he had some time ago served in Mr. Martin's employ, and Martin having acknowledged that the negro had lived with him two years, during two seasons, an action of *assumpsit* for work and labour done for the said George Martin by their slave, was instituted in the name of John Hays and Ann Elizabeth his wife, both of whom are residents of Cecil county. Martin was required to give bail in the amount of one thousand dollars, for his appearance before Baltimore County Court on the second Monday of November, and having offered *good and sufficient security which was refused*, he employed Wm. A. Stewart as counsel who filed a petition immediately, and had him brought out before Judge Legrand this morning, when the following proceedings took place:

"The case was brought up before Judge Legrand, in the Record Office, in pursuance of the act of 1846, chap 360, for the discharge of the party from custody. Wm. A. Stewart, Esq. appeared as counsel for the defendant, assisted by Folger P. Lovegrove, Esq. Henry Stump, Esq. appeared as counsel for the plaintiff.

"Samuel Pinnock, being sworn, testified as follows: I am from Chester county, Pennsylvania; have known Martin at least ten years: knew him to reside in East Marlborough, Chester county, a number of years longer, and never knew him to reside out of that county. I don't know of the boy Albert being employed by Mr. Martin.

"Officer McCreery sworn testified that he was not interested in the suit, but upon being cross-examined by the defence, stated that the alleged slave was owned by him yesterday, but not to-day.

"He knew John Hays, and Ann his wife in Cecil county—they lived about four and a half miles from him. I know the slave to be the property of John Hays. Heard Martin say he worked for him three years.

"Other testimony was adduced, but as the hearing was to prove the non-residence of the defendant, and that the liability, if any, must have accrued out of the State of Maryland, we omit it as unnecessary.

"Mr. Stewart made a brief statement of the facts disclosed by the testimony, and insisted that under the act of 1846 the defendant must be discharged from custody. The requisitions of the act, non-residence, &c. being distinctly and unequivocally proved.

"Henry Stump, Esq. for the plaintiff, made quite a long speech in relation to the applicability of the law to the present case, and he also animadverted on the conduct of those persons in other States, who under the guise of philanthropy, seek to injure and defraud our citizens of their property. He also inquired into the reasons which he supposed actuated the framers of the law in drawing it up.

"After he had concluded, Judge Legrand stated that he had originally drawn the law, but on its passage through the Senate, it had been somewhat altered, and that under its provisions as it now stood, (although in actions of test damages, &c. it might be otherwise,) the defendant must be discharged from custody. Mr. Martin was accordingly discharged."

Although the hearing was expected to take place in the County Court Room, and many were thereby deprived of an opportunity of being present, there was quite a rush to the Record Office, on the part of the Slaveholders and their understrappers on the one hand, and the enemies of Slavery, or "Emancipationists" (!) as the *Clipper* mildly calls them, and the friends of justice, generally, on the other. The scene was certainly one of intense interest, as showing more than usual sympathy and firmness on the part of those engaged on the side of Freedom, while less of brow-beating on the part of the pro-slaverites! There appeared, indeed, to be but little consolation derived by them from the scene. Not even the desperate attempt to get up a sensation, made by the counsel for the claimants of Mitchell, alluded to so characteristically by the *Argus*, seemed to afford them any "aid and comfort." They evidently learned that the severest tirade against "Abolitionists" and "fanatics" will no longer thwart the ends of justice, even in this slaveholding city. If it was designed to affect the decision of Judge Legrand, it was a lamentable mistake. He is a man of too much firmness and fairness for that. As to effect on "Buncombe"—it evidently served the cause of truth far more than that of error. This you will infer, when I inform you that a general desire to see it published was expressed by those present, of the class at which a great part of it was aimed, and five dollars was proffered, on the spot, by one of them, for a correct report of it! It would be a decided curiosity, I assure you.—What a pity, if it should prove to have fallen "still-born" from the "Stump"? I sincerely hope I may yet have the pleasure of forwarding you a copy of it, and in contrast with it the brief but effective effort made by Mr. Stewart, and also the response which Mr. Lovegrove was about to make when cut off by the prompt decision of the Judge. The latter gentleman is of the Quaker stock, and hence many thought they had a right to expect a hearty utterance from him.

It should not be inferred that the above named decision has quashed all future proceedings under this notion of *assumpsit*. The suit goes on, at the option of the plaintiffs. But they will be glad to withdraw it, I predict. If they do not, Mr. Martin should not only voluntarily appear for trial, but the friends of the slave along the border should make it a *test* case, and put the ablest of counsel to work. Else they will be continually liable to annoyance by similar suits, predicted on the absurd idea of indebtedness for the wages of fugitives from Slavery—especially absurd where the hireling has been years out of Slavery, or has already received the amount of his wages!

There are other steps which, it seems to me, ought to be taken in Pennsylvania, against the abductors of Mitchell, with the view of making the usual demand upon the Governor of Maryland. These will be naturally suggested by some alleged facts connected with this transaction, which are not narrated in the *Argus* account, but which I propose to supply, in order that the fiendish system of slave-catching, and the human-shaped blood hounds who conduct it, may appear in the light of actuality.

It is said there were four persons concerned in the capture of Mitchell—one of them, it is feared, being one of those *coloured* "stool pigeons," who are the last hope of the pursuer, and the discovery of whose identity is, therefore, a matter of primary urgency. They did not wait to open the outer door of Mitchell's dwelling in the more ordinary manner, but battered it down with a log of wood! They presented a pistol, loaded with *three* balls, at the breast of his wife! This, it is said, they left behind them, with the cap exploded, and also a cane which, it is thought, will lead to the identity of a slave-catcher in Wilmington. In the scuffle, caused by the determination of Mitchell to cling to his wife and child, they *dislocated his shoulder*, from which he was suffering when he arrived in this city! This latter circumstance has rendered him a rather unsalable chattel, and should be availed of, in the event of any movement, for his restoration to liberty by purchase, being made in Pennsylvania. Thus only may it be rendered a matter of consolation to this tortured victim of American Slavery.

In conclusion, I will add that, if the people of Chester county, in the centre of which stands Kennett Square, famed for its Anti-Slavery spirit, suffer such foul and diabolical deeds to go "unwhipt of justice," then indeed have I made a most mistaken estimate of them. The prompt punishment awarded to the kidnappers, recently convicted before their court, will be a lasting memorial of their past vigilance. Half the energy displayed in that trial, would secure most important and lasting results, if applied to the case of poor Mitchell. That it will be so applied, and that promptly, is the hope of that least one

BALTIMORE ABOLITIONIST.

General Intelligence.

THE CUBA HUNTS.

The *New Orleans Bee* supposes that the secret adventures forming in that city are hound to Mexico rather than Cuba. It says:—

"Ever since the occupation of the line of the Sierra Madre by the American army, the project of conquering the States of Tamaulipas, Coahuila, and San Leon, of detaching them from the Mexican Republic, and of constituting them into an independent confederacy, has been fermenting in the brains of a large number of persons, some of whom we know to be men of standing and intelligence. Associations have been formed under the title of "Owls;" a constant correspondence in cypher has been carried on with certain parties in Mexico, and the scheme has been sedulously fostered by a number of leading spirits in both Republics. It is our impression that the movements here are directed towards this object, and are not intended to operate upon the island of Cuba."

The annexed extract from a late New York letter of "*The Washington Union*," makes some rather remarkable additions to the rumours current respecting the Cuba movement:

"Under these circumstances, and under the belief that the English, French, and American population of the island will gladly exchange the antiquated rule of old Spain for laws, institutions, privileges and influences in the State more in accordance with the spirit of the age, a large number of wealthy Creole families and individuals are preparing to assert the independence of the island on the first favourable opportunity. They have bought arms, military stores, &c. to a large extent in this country and England, almost all of which have long since passed beyond the jurisdiction of the United States and Great Britain, having been landed and stored (not in Cuba, but elsewhere) at points most convenient for the native Cubans.

"For two years past they have been buying such merchandise liberally among us, as in England; and there are now a large number of wealthy and patriotic Creoles of the island in the United States, ostensibly travelling for pleasure, but really picking out men from among those distinguishing themselves in the Mexican war, whose names and experience would, if identified in the first movement, be likely at once to create a deeper sympathy for their cause in the breast of the American people, while it could not fail to inspire confidence in their ultimate success on the part of all the residents of their island.

"Thus, it is understood that had General Worth lived, he would ere this have resigned his commission in the American army, and commenced planting in Cuba, to be ready to head the movement, whenever essayed. The leaders in the proposed enterprise—those who furnish the means—undoubtedly considered him pledged to this purpose, and have lately been sadly put to it to supply the want of an American commander-in-chief of gallant daring, great experience, and reputation—equal in moral effect, to half an army."

The Washington correspondent of the *Journal of Commerce* writes:

"I have just arrived here, and find, to my surprise, that what I discredited in Pennsylvania, is nevertheless true,—and that the scheme for the invasion of Cuba is well and extensively arranged. I find that the Departments, and especially the Secretary of War, is deeply impressed with the importance of these secret movements. Even in this city, under the eyes of the Government, an agent has been busy in getting up this Aaron Burr scheme.

"The Goverment, as I am to-day told, cannot stop the scheme, but the first trial will probably be abortive, meeting with no help in Cuba. The blood of the martyrs will, perhaps, be the seed of the church. That some of our people are bent on martyrdom in this cause, there is no doubt.

"It is not pretended that it is the cause of liberty. It is the cause, as is admitted, of cupidity and knavery. But theft, robbery, and, in fact, every crime, will be covered over with the name of liberty, in every case where an excuse can be offered to our patriots. Remember Madame Roland's exclamation!"

The *Baltimore Patriot* of the 25th says:

"Various reports have been circulated about town for several days past in regard to the rumored Cuba expedition—that enlistments were being made in this city, at $7 a month, and $1000 at the end of the year, and that a vessel was shortly to sail with them for the Gulf. We have good reason to believe that these reports are founded in fact, but what the real facts are, we have been unable to ascertain on account of the secrecy observed by the parties concerned.

"The United States Marshal and District Attorney of this District have been notified from Washington to keep a vigilant eye upon the movement. It is understood, however, that the leaders have taken high legal advice, so as in no way to violate the letter of the law.

The correspondent of the *Cleveland Herald* says, under date of Washington, August 15, 1849:

Since my former communication in reference to this matter, I have learned that the number of Americans required by the conspirators for the descent upon the Havana, is 4,000—a large portion of whom are enlisted and are *receiving pay!* Small vessels are already engaged for the transport of arms and munitions in advance, to a small island near Cuba, at which the buccaneer fleet is to rendezvous and prepare for the attack. The notorious Col. White, who figured in the early part of the Mexican war, and afterward raised a regiment at New Orleans to assist the Yucateco against the Indians, is in New York with sufficient money at his command, and actively engaged in enlisting troops. Other similar characters are associated with him in the contemplated scheme. It is evident that the Cubans are in an advanced state of preparation for the outbreak, and are awaiting the arrival of their allies from the States; for it would be worse than fool-hardy for a slight armament with only 4,000 men to think of storming the impregnable walls of the Havana, unless they expected the most efficient aid and co-operation from the people on shore, or from the garrison itself. It will be remembered that the harbour of the Havana is in shape like an ox-bow, and that at the entrance, which is quite narrow, are the massive and frowning battlements of Moro Castle. In all its appointments it is an object of admiration and terror.

The *Missouri Republican*, says the *National Intelligencer*, (dated at St. Louis, Aug. 12) remarkably corroborates the information which we have heretofore received through other channels, showing how necessary it was for the Executive to interpose, as it did by means of the late Proclamation, to protect the public peace, the national honour, and good faith:

"*Mysterious Movement in New Orleans.*—The papers of New Orleans are silent about a movement that is going on in that city, which has, if we are correctly informed, the appearance of a military movement against a neighbouring country, and is for this reason, contrary to our laws. It is stated to us that a company of fifteen hundred men is being enrolled in that city, who are to serve twelve months, and to be paid one thousand dollars each per year. They are told that they are to fight, but have not been informed against whom their warfare is to be directed. It is said that half a million of dollars are on deposit in the Canal Bank to use in the enterprise. Nearly the full compliment of men has been obtained, and it is probable that developments will soon be made as to the design of the expedition."

The *North American* makes the following statement in relation to this affair:

"Intelligence has reached us from a reliable source that a force numbering between 500 and 800 men, has recently been assembled at Round Island, opposite Pascagoula, under the command of Colonel White, who figured not long ago at Yucatan.

"It is also stated that the sum of $250 000 has been deposited in Mobile, to promote the objects of this nefarious movement, the particular direction of which is not yet distinctly ascertained; though from facts lately come to light through authentic channels, its destination is supposed to be Cuba, where a landing is contemplated at the south side of the island. It is understood that rendezvous, with a view of enlisting men, have been opened at Baltimore, New York, and Boston, as well as at Mobile and New Orleans. We have not been able to discover that any attempt has been made in Philadelphia to collect a force or to supply arms and ammunition."

The "*Express*" states that meetings are nightly held in this city, some secretly, some more publicly, and organizations of a very extensive character are forming for some secret expedition, of which none engaged but the leaders, know anything. Several bodies of men, numbering over a hundred each, have organized themselves into regular military divisions, and have entered the coalition, which it is now assuming a shape too formidable to be overlooked. On Monday evening a large number of men were called to order by Colonel Carr; a large number enrolled their names on proposals of seven dollars a month, and a thousand at the end of the year. Next Saturday is the appointed time for sailing, and while the real destination of the expedition is unknown, it is given out as a gold hunt to California.

They, however, promise to divulge the nature of the enterprise to the members on the day of sailing, Saturday next. Some think it is to California they are going, and others, that they are going to espouse the cause of the whites in Yucatan, but it is most to be feared that despite the plain and straightforward proclamation of President Taylor, warning all against such an expedition as a violation of the laws of nations, the true destination of this armed force is Cuba.

The men engaged in this movement are young men who are out of employment, but are good-looking, stout, healthy persons, ripe for any exciting adventure; indeed, many of them are volunteers who have been in Mexico, and showed as great a relish for this adventure as they did for that.

☞ The Washington correspondent of *The Herald* thus speculates:

The public policy of Mr. Clayton, as in duty bound, is clearly antagonistic to any movement, without authority in law, for the overthrow of the Spanish government on the island. But this does not necessarily involve his private opinions on the abstract question of the annexation. We have, since yesterday, some reason to believe that, privately, Mr. Clayton is of the opinion that the acquisition of Cuba, and its admission, as a slave State, into the Union, would be highly advantageous to all sections, and all the industrial interests of the United States; advantageous to the islanders and the island, and advantageous to the world at large. It would meliorate the condition of the slaves of the island, and it would suppress the ocean slave-trade, as far as Cuba is now implicated in it; for, that cargoes of slaves are frequently landed and sold on the island, fresh from the coast of Africa, is a fact which, by proofs, could be established.

But Mr. Clayton is cautious even to timidity, and it will require the active pressure of the movement, to induce him to take the enterprise out of the hands of the speculators, and to elevate it to an official government undertaking, on behalf of the people of the United States. An extract in the *Republic* of this morning, disclosing the invaluable resources of the island, and the grinding despotism of its rotten Spanish government, savoured a little bit, not much, but yet a little, of the idea, that the Cabinet are beginning to be slightly affected by the contagion. The article commits nobody—makes no promises; but it declares, by a fair construction, that Cuba is desirable, and that it would be an act of humanity to give it the benefit of our institutions. If General Taylor or Mr. Clayton had any particular good will for the Spanish supremacy in Cuba, no such extract as this would have appeared in the *Republic*, for whether that paper be or be not the "organ," that which it utters or endorses, on great questions of public policy, is believed to be endorsed by the Administration.

From more direct testimony, however, we are induced to believe that Mr Clayton (if you strip the question of its impediments) is in favour of the acquisition of Cuba. The obstacles in the way, would be as so many attractions, to a man like Mr. Calhoun, in this great work; but to Mr Clayton, they obscure the expediency of taking the initiative. All foreign obstacles out of the way, and Spain willing to sell out on reasonable terms, we understand that the Cabinet would be divided as follows:—

For the Acquisition of Cuba.

Gen. Taylor,	Mr. Johnson,
Mr. Clayton,	Mr. Crawford,
Mr. Meredith,	Mr. Preston.

Against it.

Mr. Ewing,	Mr. Collamer.

And we mean to say, that this would be the division on the question of buying and admitting Cuba into the Union as a slave State.

The Slavery question, so far from being a bugbear, might be employed successfully in compromising the quarrel about it in New Mexico and California; for the South, we suspect, would be willing to let those territories remain as we find them, free, on condition that Cuba is admitted as we find her, slaveholding, and a representative of Southern interests. The movements in reference to the acquisition of Cuba, are not the ebullition of the hour. A year ago, Mr. Miller of New Jersey, offered a resolution, asking for information of the President, in respect to a certain reported conspiracy on foot, for the subversion of the Spanish authority in the island of Cuba; which, on an appeal of Mr. Mangum, of North Carolina, was subsequently withdrawn. There must be, then, something of that deliberation in the business which establishes the gravity of an enterprise.

☞ We would caution the South to beware of George G. Stephenson, of New York, a travelling agent for the sale of Brandreth's pills, who was called upon by the committee of safety of this district, which started to him, that the dangers which at present threaten the peculiar domestic institutions of the South made it necessary that all strangers, especially those from the North, should be examined and his business, &c. ascertained. He immediately arose, and denounced the proceeding as oppressive and ungentlemanly, and declared himself an uncompromising opponent of Slavery from this time forward. On examining his papers, a letter to him was discovered, in which mention was made of a new Richmond corps being organized for the South, consisting of some five or six persons, giving only the initials of the names, and alluding to the difficulties and dangers they had to encounter, and putting up a prayer for their success. He attempted to explain this as having relation to established agencies for the sale of pills, which may or may not have been true. He was warned to leave our village on the next morning. We understand that the agency for the sale of these pills in this place was given up, and they were returned to him.—*Yorkville* (S. C.) *Miscellany.*

☞ *The Patterson Intelligencer* says an effort is making to secure the Post-office there for General Goodwin's daughter. "She has had the principal charge of the office during the illness of the father, and appears to be entirely competent to the discharge of its duties. The propriety of her appointment appears to be sanctioned by the unanimous wish of the community, and we presume will meet with no obstacle at Washington."

Too Thick.—In one building, 7 Little Water st. there have been found 200 coloured people as regular occupants. In the locality known as Cow Bay, there are 400 persons in five houses. At the corner of Orange and Cross sts. there are 95 coloured and white females in a rear basement; and in the rear of 10 and 12 Mulberry st. there are 800 persons crowded upon two lots, six persons living in almost every room. The chances of these residents for cleanliness, health, or decency, are obvious. Yet the attempt to introduce arrangements by which such sacrifices of life and humanity would be prevented, are sneered at by our respectable worthies as Agrarianism, Promiscuity, Red-Dragonism, or worst of all, Socialism.—*Tribune.*

Controversy among the Jews.—For some years past, an animated controversy has been going on among the Jews in the United States relative to the observance or neglect of ancient ceremonials; and the "*Occident*" an able periodical in this city, edited by Rev. Mr. Leeser, has contained many communications on the subject. In New York and Charleston, it has been especially warm, and progressed so far that synagogues have been erected by each party. The difference consists in the fact that a portion of the sect desire to secure freedom of action as to the matter of keeping open their stores on Saturday, and the eating of prohibited meat at coffee-houses. The opposition party demand a strict conformity with all the requisitions of the Jewish creed, and an observance of the forms and ceremonials of Jewish worship.—*Philadelphia North American.*

A Wife sold by her Husband.—Not long since, a late merchant of Stewart county took a fancy to the wife of a citizen in his neighbourhood, and desired that she would accompany him to a distant clime. But how to get legal possession of the prize was a problem of no easy solution, yet solved it was, and by the virtue of the "almighty dollar." A bargain was effected, whereby the merchant was to pay the bereaved husband $150 on the relinquishment by the latter of all right, title, and immunity which he held in his spouse. No sooner said than done. The money was paid, and the wife removed from the custody and control of her husband, and delivered into the safe keeping of the purchaser, who has taken this newly-acquired piece of property with him to New York! We did not learn whether the seller put a halter around the neck of his wife, and led her out thereby, as is practised in old England, but we think it quite likely that he, by that sale, slipped his own neck out of a very disagreeable noose that had been thrown around it.—*Muscogee (Ga.) Democrat, Aug. 15.*

☞ An examination of midshipmen has lately taken place at the naval school at Annapolis, Md. the result of which was, that fourteen young officers of that rank were advanced to the next higher one of passed midshipmen. It is remarkable that all of these fortunate young men were from Virginia, Maryland, and the District of Columbia, but three, who belong to North and South Carolina and Missouri. Probably the assertion is not true, that Gen. Taylor, some twenty years ago, gave the toast, "no more field officers from north of Mason and Dixon's line," but from the result of this latest examination at Annapolis, a practical enforcement of the corresponding sentiment, "nothing but warrant officers and seamen from the free States," would seem to be meditated in respect to the naval service.—*Post.*

Escape of Slaves.—The *Rockville* (Md.) *Journal* of Saturday last states that six negroes, belonging to E. R. Griffith, Mr. Warfield, and some others, left their owners on Saturday night week, and have not been taken—they are doubtless making for a free State. The *Journal* very much fears that Abolitionists are at work in their midst. The *Journal* also gives the following case:

On Friday night last a free mulatto, in the employment of S. T. Stonestreet, Esq. of this place, eloped with a servant girl, the property of Mr. S.—taking about $100 belonging to Tilghman, a servant at Mr. Poole's hotel, and husband of the girl. Mr. S. was at the Springs. Hilleary borrowed a horse from Mrs. S. with the pretence of going on a visit a short distance; he, however, left the horse he borrowed, and took another, a very fine traveller. As soon as it was discovered that he had left in this manner, arrangements were made for pursuit. The gentlemen who followed after him returned home on Monday night, having been unsuccessful in their efforts to capture them. They, however, ascertained in Baltimore that they had left in the cars for York, Pa. The officers thinking there was no possibility of their being able to obtain passage, did not go to the cars, else they would have been in time to arrest them. Hilleary was known to several persons in Baltimore as a freeman, and having stolen the free papers of his sister-in-law, Mr. Jesse Leach, formerly of this county, now a resident of Baltimore, certified to the freedom of H. and the genuineness of the signature of the clerk of Montgomery County to the papers in possession of the woman. In this way the conductor allowed them to take passage, and they are now in Pennsylvania, where they will be hard to capture. The cariole and horse were found at Goddard's stable, and brought back. H. left his wife and children.

Hon. Amos Tuck.—The *Lowell Courier* states that Hon. Amos Tuck is rapidly recovering, and is considered out of danger. Though a good deal debilitated he will doubtless be able to take his seat at the opening of the next session of Congress.

Foreign Intelligence.

ONE WEEK LATER FROM EUROPE.

THE CANADA arrived at this port on Saturday last, and we give below a brief synopsis of her news:

The English papers chronicle the progress of the Queen's visit to Ireland, and the attendant proceedings, at great length.

The Cholera continues constantly on the increase. The deaths in the London district, which, by last week's advices were 783, reached 926. There were 578 cases, on Wednesday, and 163 deaths. On Thursday 529 cases, and 241 deaths.

In Manchester and the neighbourhood some additional cases are reported, but the manufacturing districts, up to this time, have been happily spared from the scourge.

Bristol seems to be greatly improving. At Plymouth and along the Southwest coast, the epidemic seems to prevail to a very alarming degree.

In Wales the mortality has been very considerable, but the Southeast coast has generally escaped the visitation. During the last few days the heat of the weather has been excessive.

HUNGARY AND AUSTRIA.—As far as it is possible to trace the operation and position of the contending armies, from the confused and conflicting published accounts, it seems that the Hungarians were at the latest accounts occupying the line of the Theiss, and that they still maintained their position at Szegedin.

Gorgey is supposed to be somewhere about Tokay, but there is no authentic account of his precise position.

The same uncertainty prevails respecting Bem in Transylvania, of whose operations there is a great variety of reports.

The London *Daily News* gives currency to the following on the strength of a correspondent, who says that a courier from Salatz brought the news:

The Austrian and Russian army, 60,000 strong after occupying Hermanstadt and Cronstadt and other small places advanced to Sarteani. Bem collected 40,000 men, and charged against them. The battle ended in a complete defeat of the Imperialists. They fled precipitately, leaving 10,000 dead and wounded, nearly all their artillery and 8000 prisoners, among whom is Gen. Halemberg.

Bem took possession of Hermanstadt and Cronstadt.

Under the head of the "Latest intelligence" the *European Times* says the Vienna Journals of the 5th inst. supply us with news from Hungary of great importance, if true. It appears that on the 4th inst. the Hungarians stole a march and surprised the garrison of Raab. A sharp conflict ensued, which ended in the fortress and city being occupied by the Hungarians, where they found 80,000 bushels of oats, 2400 head of cattle, and large stores of miscellaneous provisions, which they carried to the Citadel of Comoro; nor were these all the trophies of their victory, for they captured six guns and took two companies of Austrian infantry, prisoners. Klapka commanded the Hungarian troops who afterwards quitted the city of Raab and took up their abode in the fortress, where they seized the Vienna mails.

ITALY—ROME.—The latest intelligence from Rome is to the 30th ult. at which time nothing final had been decided on, and things remained in exactly the same state, so far as the Papal government is concerned, as they were on the day General Oudinot entered Rome.

The commissioners named by the Pope had arrived at Rome, and commenced proceedings by dissolving the whole of the Roman army—even the troops which had remained faithful to the Pope.

Died

At Brookline, Mass. 24th inst., Rev. Dr. PIERCE, aged 76.

In Java, recently, Capt. HENRY HUTTLESTONE, of Fair haven, master of ship Channing, of New York

OLD COLONY A. S. SOCIETY.

The next semi-monthly meeting of this Society will be holden at the Four Corners in Middleboro', on Sunday, September 2d, 1849, commencing at 10 o'clock, and continue through the day. That acute, uncompromising friend of humanity, C. C. BURLEIGH, will again be with us. We do hope as many of our friends as can conveniently, will be present. The meeting, undoubtedly, will be a very interesting one, and should be well attended.

H. H. BRIGHAM, Secretary.

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION AT HARWICH.

The friends of liberty and universal emancipation, on the Cape, are hereby notified that an Anti-Slavery Convention will be held in the Methodist meeting-house, in South Harwich, commencing on Saturday, at 2 o'clock, P. M. and continuing through Sunday, September 15th and 16th.

Wm. Lloyd Garrison and Samuel J. May, Jr. have promised to give their attendance. There is also some reason to hope that Wendell Phillips will be present on the occasion. Let there be a large and spirited gathering, worthy of the Cape, and worthy of the cause

JOSHUA H. ROBBINS,
NATHANIEL ROBBINS, } Committee.
GILBERT SMITH

Harwich, Aug. 20, 1849.

ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR.

The Worcester Anti Slavery Fair will open at Worcester, on the morning of Tuesday, Sept. 18th, and will continue through the week. The display of articles will be larger and more beautiful than that of last year, a Box having been just received from Leeds, England, containing a most elegant variety of Bags, Cushions of all kinds, Purses, Mats, Toys, Drawings, and other articles too numerous to particularize; also, beautiful figures in Biscuit from Paris, Bronzes, Fans, and French Books, exquisite embroidery, a few French cage, China Autographs, in fine the large and tasteful assortment, that, thanks to the philanthropy of so many climes and countries, may be confidently expected at an Anti-Slavery Fair.

As our sales are generally in proportion to the quantity of goods, any donation, especially those suitable for the dress of Ladies and Children, will be gratefully received.

There will be a Refreshment Table, and at this time a large attendance may be confidently expected, all our friends throughout the County are earnestly requested to contribute the necessary supplies. Pies, Cake, Fruit, Blanc mange Cream, Preserves, Coffee, Tea, Sugar, &c. will be most acceptable gifts. Upon the tried and true friends of the cause we shall DEPEND for this measure of assistance.

As the season selected for the Fair will be probably most delightful, and the attractions of Worcester at that time various, we trust that the friends of the Cause, far and wide, will flock thither, consecrating their own enjoyments, by labours in the service of the noblest of efforts—that of the emancipation of the American Slave.

CHESTER COUNTY ANNUAL MEETING.

The annual meeting of the Chester County Anti Slavery Society will be held at West Grove Friends' meeting house, on 7th day the 1st of next month, commencing at 10 o'clock.

Will there be a general attendance? Is it worth while to remind Abolitionists that "*important business*" will come before the meeting? Can it be necessary to insure the attendance from all parts of the county of the tried friends of the slave, to remind them that the object of their association, though steadily advancing, is not yet accomplished? that great responsibilities still rest upon *them*? Need we specially *invite* our friends from Delaware and Lancaster counties? Must we speak of the charming ride through our beautiful country or pledge the generous hospitality of our people to induce our Wilmington and Philadelphia friends to come to our meeting? Let those who answer in the negative be punctual to the hour.

By order of the managers,

SIMON BARNARD Sec.

8th mo. 13th, 1849.

SIXTEENTH
National Anti-Slavery Bazaar.

The Committee of the National Anti-Slavery Bazaar, deeply feeling their responsibility to the holy cause of Freedom and Humanity with which they are identified, have resolved anew to make their exertions for its promotion correspond with the greatness of its demands and the rapidity of its progress.

It is unnecessary at this late day to enter upon any formal exposition of the principles and measures of the American Anti-Slavery Society to the support of which the funds resulting from this effort are devoted. The language of our last year's Call will express better than any other our present convictions of its necessity and value. "Years of close observation of its righteous principles and uncompromising practical workings assure us that it has the elements of success. It continually sends forth lecturers to enforce the principles of justice and humanity among the people, and in a few years is found thereby to have exercised a controlling influence for good throughout the country. It dictates the course and banda the policy of every political party; and speaking as it does from a height above their selfish personal struggles, its words of everlasting truth are heard, and more and more obeyed. ...It has no local attachments, no sectarian or partisan partialities, no hidden aim, no double purpose." With this Society in a word, rests the hope of the American Slave. Its continuance and increased success, the number of its agents and the circulation of its periodicals depend greatly on the amount of funds which we through this yearly effort are enabled to place at its disposal.

We regard the importance of the American Anti-Slavery Society as paramount to that of any other Anti-Slavery, organization, and of course its claims for help and sympathy paramount to those of any other. Boston and its environs indeed supply us with a market, but with a trifling exception barely sufficient to remunerate the expense of Anti-Slavery advertisements, not a cent of our receipts are expended in Massachusetts. In sustaining the Cause in her own borders, she asks no aid from beyond them, but relies entirely on her own efforts

These being our circumstances, we appeal to Abolitionists EVERYWHERE, earnestly invoking of each aid and assistance proportionate alike to the dignity and necessity of the work we have undertaken. We are labouring for the establishment of those foundation principles on which the rights of all men must of necessity rest. Therefore to *All* we appeal in confident reliance on that common human heart whose unsophisticated instincts furnish our best hope of success.

The Sixteenth National Anti-Slavery Bazaar will be held in Boston during Christmas week, and all desiring to co-operate with us are requested to communicate with the undersigned.

Anne Warren Weston,	*Louisa Loring,*
M. W. Chapman,	*Mary May,*
Eliza L. Follen,	*Sarah S. Russell,*
Ann T. G. Phillips,	*Ann R. Bramhall,*
Susan C. Cabot,	*Helen E. Garrison,*
Catherine Sargent,	*Maria Lowell,*
Henrietta Sargent,	*Abby Francis,*
Thankful Southwick,	*Harriet T. White,*
Harriet B. Hall,	*Mary Gray Chapman,*
Francis Mary Robbins	*Sarah B. Shaw,*
Caroline Weston,	*Evelina A. S. Smith,*
Eliza F. Eddy,	*Hannah Tufts,*
Caroline F. Williams,	*Harriet M. Palmer,*
Lydia Parker,	*Mary Willey*
Sarah N. Southwick,	*Elizabeth Gay.*

BOOK REPOSITORY.

PUBLICATIONS ON HAND AND FOR SALE AT THE OFFICE OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, 142 NASSAU STREET, NEW YORK.

Address to the Presbyterians of Kentucky,	03
Authentic anecdotes of American Slavery,	08
Anti-Slavery Catechism, by Mrs. Child	06
Amusing Tales,	06
Address of S. J. May, at Syracuse,	10
Appeal to the Women of the nominally Free States,	10
Alton Riots, bound,	25
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Africans taken in the Amistad—Congressional Documents,	10
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A Review of the Causes and Consequences of the Mexican War, by Wm Jay	75
American Whites and Blacks, by E S Abdy	50
A Collection of Valuable Documents on Slavery, &c.	19
Amanda—A Tale for the Times, by W. H. Brisbane,	12½
Autobiography of Henry C. Wright	1,00
Birney on Colonization.	06
Brotherhood of Thieves, by S. S. Foster	19
Can Abolitionists vote, &c, under the United States Constitution?	25
Chattelized Humanity, by Jonathan Walker	10
Christmas, and poems on Slavery,	08
Considerations on the use of the productions of Slavery,	06
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Channing's Letter to Abolitionists,	06
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Eulogium on Clarkson, by Rev. A. Crummel	
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Legion of Liberty,	18¾
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do do do in paper do.	25
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Republicanism of Christianity—A Discourse, by J. Floy	10
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Slavery and the Slaveholder's Religion, by S Brooke	12½
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The Sin of Covetousness, by D. Peabody	04
The Black Code of the District of Columbia—in force, Sept. 1, 1848, by G. W. Stephen	25
Lewis's Free Soil, Slavery, and Territorial Map,	12½
Portrait of Ellen Crafts, the fugitive slave, (on Steel)	22

All orders for Anti-Slavery Books, if post paid, and accompanied with the cash, will be promptly attended to.

Advertisement.

The NATIONAL ANTI SLAVERY STANDARD is published on Thursday of every week by The AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY at its office, 142 Nassau street, New York.

As the object of the Society is the ABOLITION OF AMERICAN CHATTEL SLAVERY, which is sustained and can exist only, by virtue of a corrupt public sentiment, so the purpose of the Society's Organ, the STANDARD, is to establish the great truth, by facts of experience, and appeals to reason and common sense, that Slavery is economically, politically, morally, and religiously, a gigantic error, and a sin of the deepest dye, and should, therefore, be immediately, totally, and unconditionally, abandoned. It enforces the duty of secession from the body of a Church which palliates or defends such a system, and repudiates a Union whose common bond is the oppression of one sixth of the people.

It is the aim of those to whose management the paper is entrusted to make it, not only a faithful and earnest exponent of the highest Anti-Slavery sentiment of the country, but also a complete history of the progress of the Anti-Slavery cause. A portion of its columns is always devoted to selections from other papers, both Northern and Southern, presenting, so far as it is presented through the public press, the pro-slavery or Anti-Slavery complexion of the different sections of the Union.

It is designed also to be a good *family newspaper*, and contains always a brief synopsis of the most important current intelligence. Its fourth page is exclusively of a literary character, and is carefully collated from the best Foreign and Domestic Publications.

The STANDARD is edited by JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, EDMUND QUINCY, and SYDNEY HOWARD GAY. Mr Gay is the resident editor, and its chief management is entrusted to him. Each number of the paper will contain an article in the editorial columns from either Mr. Quincy or Mr Lowell over their proper initials

RICHARD D. WEBB of Dublin, whose letters to the *Standard* have excited so much attention hitherto, for their just and discriminating view of Irish affairs, and for their general great ability and interest, will continue a regular correspondent of the paper.

Its price is $2 per annum, and the Executive Committee confidently and earnestly commend it to the patronage of the friends of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and all all opponents of American Slavery, as worthy, both for its object and its character, of their support

Publication Agency.

The undersigned is prepared to supply all persons in the country with Books, Pamphlets, Magazines, Maps, Engravings, &c. &c., published and for sale in the city of New York. These will be furnished, on the shortest notice, by mail or express at the lowest price of the publisher. All orders should be accompanied with the cash, and post paid. When publications ordered are out of print, or from any other cause, cannot be furnished, the money will be returned free of postage to the sender.

Persons in all parts of the United States, wishing the cheapest, latest, and best works on Literature, Temperance, Slavery, Phrenology, Agriculture, Phonetics, or any of the reformatory subjects of the day, will find this as convenient a method of obtaining them as can be found. His arrangements with publishers are such as to enable him to furnish any publication in the New York market with the least possible delay.

Send in your orders to this office, addressed to

A. HONEYWELL,
142 Nassau st. N. Y.

Miscellany.

WOMAN'S RIGHTS.

From Hurlburt's "Essays on Human Rights and Political Guaranties."

"Human rights take their origin in the mental constitution; all men have the same mental attributes, and, therefore, we must concede to them the same rights. Although at the same time we perceive that one man has far more liberal intellectual endowments than another, yet we hold that the right does not depend upon the *degree*, but wholly upon the *character* of the mental manifestation. The laws have never distinguished between the grades of intellectual endowments, with a view to the ascertainment of human rights. *Sanity* is all that the law looks to either in reference to *rights* or *duties*. In the social state all sane men of mature age are possessed of equal rights, and the laws devolve upon them equal responsibilities. He who has the least instinctive attachment to existence, has the same right to the protection of life as he who loves it most. The prodigal's right of property is as sacred to the law as the miser's—the small possessions of the poor as the ample stores of the rich. So that the greatest intellectual endowments confer no more of the rights of humanity than the most ordinary mental capacity—and, in the eye of justice, the rights of the humble are as sacred as those of the great. It is of no importance, then, to establish woman's mental inferiority, even if it could be done, with a view to disprove her rights; for if we concede to her the attributes, we must concede to her also the rights of humanity. The arguments which establish human rights upon a natural foundation, establish them to be inherent in woman as well as in man. But perhaps all this will be conceded, the argument being not so much against her abstract rights as against her power to vindicate and defend them; or, in other words, against her participation in civil government.

What, then, is the function of government? It is simply the protection of human rights. For whose benefit is it established? For the benefit of all who have rights to protect. We hold that government is the mere offspring of rights, which institute it as their means of defence and vindication. Hence it will be perceived that woman's rights are as sacred to the law as man's, and that her concern with government is as great and important as his own. If so, why is she excluded from acting in reference to that which so immediately concerns her? She is a rational moral being, endowed with rights. Is she not the very being to guard them? Throughout the sensitive creation, does not each being act for himself, in assertion and defence? But of all others, is not a rational moral being especially ordained for self-control and self-vindication?

We have already seen that government emanates from the moral nature of mankind—that the laws have a moral origin and aim. Now the moral force which is aggravated in the social state proceeds as much from woman's sentiments as man's; her moral endowments being, perhaps, proportionably greater than his own. But if they are inferior in some respects, it would not aid the other side provided she is *morally sane*—and that she is so regarded is proved by the fact, that she is held morally and legally responsible to the fullest extent while she remains unmarried. If, then, woman's moral nature contribute to that moral force in the social state from which the laws emanate, she has in her mental constitution the true source of the laws. It now appears that there are inherent in woman both rights and the source of their protection. Why; then, ought she not to be permitted to draw upon the resources of her own nature for the protection of her rights? Why ought she not to be represented in the legislative body?

It is said that it appears from her mental constitution that she is ordained to be subordinate to man. This argument, extended a little further, would defeat all human liberty. Slavery could be vindicated and upheld, wherever it should appear that the master had the superior mental organization. The principle would give the power of government to a select few, with the best endowed minds, and exclude the great mass of the people from any participation in the affairs of State. It would utterly subvert the principles of republicanism. The same reasons which operate to establish self-government for the mass of mankind, seem also to establish the right of woman to be represented in the councils of State.

I have only to maintain that woman is a rational, moral being, and disposed to obey the law, in order to establish her capacity to vindicate her rights. She must fall below the average moral endowments before she can be excluded from any moral work which concerns her happiness, or that of the community. Government is a moral institution, in which all mature and enlightened moral beings under its influence who have an intelligent and abiding love of justice, have a right to be actors.

But, it is inquired, would not any attempt to place weaker faculties on a par with stronger ones be unsuccessful? I answer, that great success has attended such an experiment in this country for more than half a century—since, without any nice discrimination as to the comparative strength of the mental faculties, we have substantially placed all native adult male citizens on a par, as to the right of representation under our government, ever since its organization. The great mass of our male citizens throng the polls of our elections, and the general result has been quite satisfactory to the friends of free government.

But it is objected that a woman has less of self-esteem, or the love of power, and less of combativeness and destructiveness than man. I answer, that government emanates from the higher moral attributes of mankind, such as the sense of justice and benevolence—and that self-esteem or the love of power is rather to be swayed by these higher sentiments, than to control them. The love of power is not the source of a free government—it may be of an arbitrary one—and I apprehend that it has something to do with the exclusion of woman from her right to participate in State affairs. Then, as to the instincts of physical defence, combativeness and destructiveness—these are to be directed and restrained by the enlightened moral sentiments of the social body; they are not to control the business of government, since that is a moral concern. The constituency of the government would not vary the case so far as the defensive power of the State was concerned; man has to do the fighting now—he would not have to fight any harder under the joint government of the two sexes. Nay, I doubt if he would have to fight much, since woman is naturally averse to war, and her voice in government would contribute to the preservation of the public peace.

But it is said that man has a better endowment than woman of the reasoning faculties, casualty and comparison. I hope I may be pardoned for conceding this to be true, merely for the sake of the argument. It is sufficient for my purpose that woman is conceded to be a rational moral being. But granting to man superior reasoning faculties, these alone will not make him a better legislator than woman; he must have a better moral endowment, also, for legislation is a moral work. But grant him a moral superiority over woman, (which is unfounded in fact) then he would be better qualified for this work than another, and yet all *men* are alike eligible to the legislative office. Suppose man, on account of these superior endowments would legislate best, that would not exclude woman from *voting* for the representative body. Allow man to be exclusively eligible to the representative office, the question still returns, by whose votes is he to be chosen? and ought not woman at least to participate in the exercise of the elective franchise?

But it is farther maintained on the other side, that woman is already sufficiently represented in the halls of legislation, since her rights being the same as man's, and her mental constitution being also like his, those laws which man ordains for the protection of rights, and which harmonize with his own nature, must afford to her all the protection which she can require. This argument would support a very limited suffrage of the male sex. It could be urged with the same justice in excluding nine-tenths of the male citizens from the exercise of the elective franchise. For instance, if the Constitution prescribed as a requisite qualification for a voter, that he should own a freehold estate worth ten thousand dollars, the elective privilege would be exercised only by a small portion of our citizens—and yet as the voters in this case might be supposed to support laws in harmony with their own mental constitutions, which are the same as those of the non-freeholders, it might be said that the laws would still be in harmony with the wants and wishes of the excluded class. The number of voters, on the same principle, might be diminished indefinitely, until a pure aristocracy should be established. It can scarcely be necessary to embark in a laboured refutation of principles which lead to such a result. The experiment of universal suffrage for the male sex (excepting minors and criminals) has been successfully made in many of the States of the American Union, and but few enlightened Americans now oppose its justice or expediency.

But is it true that no adverse interests spring up between man and woman? Let us see. As to all in a single state, perhaps it may be asserted that a greater harmony exists, but how stands the case between these in the married condition?

The laws of government control this relation, and declare the rights and obligations pertaining to it. The first question which the laws settle, is whether there shall be any supremacy in the case, and they declare not only that such supremacy shall exist, but also that it shall pertain to the husband. Now it strikes me, that woman is entitled to be heard on this point—since it is clear to my mind, that notwithstanding her great reverence she revolts against this supremacy. If she pleases to accord it to him after fair argument, on account of his superior love of power, and his larger endowment of combativeness and destructiveness—then let him have dominion over her—but it seems proper that her views and wishes should be represented in the Legislature, before she can be bound by the laws to obey her husbands will. In this supremacy is involved the delicate power of "correction and moderate chastisement"—and it might be deemed fair perhaps to consult her as to her willingness to submit to these polite demonstrations of conjugal authority.

Again in the married state, the woman has interests adverse to her husband in regard to the right of property—as to what disposition shall be made of property owned by her at the time of her marriage, and as to what shall be her share in the joint acquisition afterwards. Upon these points the greater love of power, and greater acquisitiveness of the husband may need some restraint from the laws, and woman may require protection from these superior instinctive impulses of man. He has so far legislated on this subject, pretty much after his own way, insomuch that woman's rights in this respect seem to require vindication at her own hands.

Again—as to what shall be proper causes of divorce? Woman's happiness is greatly involved in this question—and great injustice may be done to her by the selfish legislation of the male sex.

And lastly—woman has greater love of offspring than man, and in case of voluntary or legal separation from her husband, the law regulates the custody of the children of the marriage. In this question she manifests the most intense anxiety—amounting to positive agony—as recent cases in this country have abundantly shown. Ought she not then to have a voice in the enactment of all laws affecting the care and custody of her children, since they so deeply concern her happiness?

In all these cases of marital rights, her interests and wishes are too sacred to be disregarded—and it is not difficult to perceive that the laws which man may ordain on this subject, under the influence of his selfish feelings, may do violence to the nature and rights of woman—and that, therefore, she ought to participate to the same extent as man in their enactment.

I trust that it is now manifest, that if woman's mental characteristics are essentially the same as man's, the same reasons which uphold universal suffrage for the male sex, must extend it also to the female. But it is not admitted that the sum of her mental character is the same as man's. It is claimed that while the intellectual and moral forces of her mind are the same, yet that their peculiar combination and relative strength distinguish her from man in many striking particulars. Suppose then the sum of her character to vary essentially from man's; admit her to have peculiar views, peculiar interests and moral wants; this but enhances the necessity for a peculiar representation of her moral interests in the Legislature. Man, then, cannot properly represent her, he cannot fully appreciate her wants; not feeling them himself, he cannot answer them. This would entitle women not only to vote, but by their votes to elect a separate branch of the Legislature. They would have a separate election of their own peculiar representatives, from their own sex, who would constitute a separate branch of every legislative body. There seems to be no escape from the claims of woman to the full rights of citizenship, whether she is considered as possessing the same nature with man or one peculiar and different. In the one case, she can claim to exercise the elective franchise of common right, and in the other, from a peculiar necessity.

Should the experiment ever be made, prudence might suggest that the single woman who paid taxes, should be first enfranchised—and that after the experience of a season all adult single women should follow. And if the experiment thus gradually and cautiously made, should be attended with no public mischief, then the whole sex should receive their full enfranchisement,—if the pride of the Anglo Saxon man could be made to concede so much.

THE EDGEWORTHS.

[*From the Dublin Press.*]

Miss Edgeworth's life has supplied another illustration of the truth, that authors, particularly of fiction, if they long survive the power and the will to renew their claims on public attention, may live to see a great portion of their former celebrity obliterated from the public mind. The death, however, of Miss Edgeworth has served as a revival of her fame. The young now eagerly inquire for her works—the more advanced recollect what she had been in the zenith of her reputation, and every trait of personal character is now early sought for by the public. Being one of those who recollect Miss Edgeworth in the meridian of her life and fame, and who had personal opportunities of enjoying her society, I think I am not affording an unacceptable tribute to the public in throwing together some fragments of my reminiscences, which have this merit at least, if no other, that they shall be faithful to the truth, and be drawn from life.

Previous to my acquaintance with the illustrious authoress, I became acquainted with her no less remarkable father, from whom, by those who knew both, her name cannot be separated.

Richard Lovel Edgeworth, the father of the novelist, is now, perhaps, little remembered but by the scientific few, as one who made considerable improvements in telegraphic communication, and by contemporaries, as a man of talent, of ready wit, and considerable eccentricity. It was believed, in his day, that his daughter's fame owed much to his assistance, and I think this opinion well founded. Mr. Edgeworth paid a visit, when I was just entering life, to a near connection who lived in a county bordering on that of Dublin, where my family resided at that period, and within half a mile of us. A near relative of mine had recently published a work of considerable popularity. Edgeworth, on the day of his arrival in the neighbourhood, having learned that the family of this then distinguished writer was so near him, with his usual promptitude of action volunteered an unexpected visit, and characteristically announced himself. A visit from the celebrated Mr Edgeworth produced a sensation in our family, and the exciting cause rendered it more gratifying. A sister and myself received him. He was always anxious to converse with young people, to sound their depths of mind and traits of character. He was unsparing of questions, and candid in approval or condemnation. During his stay in the neighbourhood he renewed his visits almost every day. Our parents were proud of this notice of their children. We, to say the truth, after a few days, felt it a little irksome to prepare for what we called our examinations. The impression he made on us then, which more experience confirmed, was, that he was a man of talent and acquirements far superior to what the world gave him credit for—having diminished his general reputation by considerable egotism, eccentricity, and an exuberance of liveliness approaching to levity. From subsequent experience, we thought—what I still think—that the racy humour of Irish character, animating Miss Edgeworth's early works, was almost exclusively his. He took the greatest delight in conversing with the common people and knew well how to draw them out.—Miss Edgeworth did not evince the same disposition, and her cold manner was unfavourable to inviting their confidence or throwing them off their guard. The *Irish Blunders*, bearing Miss Edgeworth's name on the title page, I know to have been virtually his. The man who said he was "changed at nurse," and the servant who, when his mistress complained of a noise in the kitchen, said it was "a noise in his own ears with which he had been tormented for years," were blunders which Edgeworth told me came within his own personal knowledge. I remember that while he was in the habit of visiting us, there resided a man of the name of Dunn in the next village, whose early life had been very questionable. He had the repute of having committed some daring burglaries. He had also been a coiner, and admitted that the material for his first essay in that line was procured by climbing up the minaret of the church of Galtrim, the name of a village in his neighbourhood, and stealing the bell which he converted into dollars, then a circulating medium in the country. He had been, in fact, one of those daring, active, intrepid, clever fellows, at once wicked and popular, who robbed the rich and gave freely to the poor, and of whom we used to read in the popular romances of our early days. Dunn became tolerably wealthy, whether by success in his lawless pursuits, or, as some said, by giving information against associates, I cannot say; but, after having been two years hunted by the authorities as a felon, he made his peace one way or other, settled in the neighbouring village, built a house, from top to bottom, with his own hands, for he evinced a decided mechanical genius, and invented a plough for clearing roads obstructed with snow. The noted robber Dunn, thus become honest and prosperous, was "a character" in the locality. I mentioned him to Mr. Edgeworth, who immediately sent for him. He came to our house. Mr Edgeworth used to visit him afterwards almost every day at his own, while he remained in the neighbourhood, and expressed a high opinion of his original talent, particularly in mechanism. I mention this incident to show the way Mr. Edgeworth made himself so intimately acquainted with Irish character, which gave such a stimulus to the popularity of his daughter's works; and which, Sir Walter Scott admitted, first suggested his own pourtrayals of Scottish character.

I had, after this period, an opportunity of meeting Mr. Edgeworth in a more aristocratic circle. It was at the house of Mr. Foster, then Irish chancellor of the exchequer, the exchequers not having been then consolidated. I may state, in parenthesis, that I happened to pay two visits in my time to Mr. Foster, afterwards Lord Oriel, at Cullen. The first was on the occasion of my calling to get off an unjust demand of the Irish treasury on a near relative of mine. The second, to obtain financial returns of exports and imports, then the test of national progress, for the relative to whose reputation I owed my first introduction to Edgeworth, and who, being at the time an editor of the *London Quarterly Review*, was preparing an article, in the fashion of the day, to write up the quaint strides Ireland was making in prosperity. Young as I was, I did not fail to observe the distinction between the visit to a great man, from whom you are about to ask a favour, and a visit intended to confer one. On the occasion of the first visit I was permitted to remain for a couple of hours in the ante-chamber—was received at length in the study by Mr. Foster with haughty dignity—the merits of the case searchingly sifted: but the introduction I presented having much weight, justice was, it is right to say, finally done. On the second visit I was not let wait five minutes in the antechamber—was received with the most cordial politeness—pressed to stay the day, and take a bed—told that we should talk on business the day after—and it was this hospitality which afforded me the opportunity alluded to of again meeting Mr. Edgeworth.

A large party had assembled at dinner, at which we were seated, when Mr. Edgeworth entered with the air of a man who felt himself at home, and, to say the truth, his presence seemed generally hailed as a great addition to the hilarity of the circle. The ladies had hardly retired, when Mr. Wakefield the celebrated Irish tourist, who formed one of the party, addressed Mr. Edgeworth in a half-offended, but good-humoured way, and said, "I have to thank you and Miss Edgeworth for the introduction of me in your daughter's last work. I should not myself have minded it, but it has given pain to the ladies of my family." It seemed that an English tourist through Ireland was introduced into the work—by name "Lord Oglethorpe"—taking notes for publication of every casual gleaming of information, and often, in the Trevelyan way, through the shrewd humour of the lower classes of Irish, picking up and publishing flagrant errors. The moment Mr. Wakefield had uttered the words, up jumped Mr. Edgeworth from the table in ecstasy, literally danced about the room—he was an excellent dancer—and exclaimed, "Ha! so you knew yourself—that is delightful, I'll tell Maria." Mr. Wakefield laughed heartily, Edgeworth resumed his seat, and all was good humour.

That visit afforded me another incident. Mr. Foster insisted on my prolonging my visit. Nothing loath to see more of such society, I remained. The male party were supplied with horses, and in the afternoon we proceeded to ride through the splendid demesne of Cullen, which we might have done for miles. The narrow roads, with which it was intersected, obliged us to ride in couples, and my lot for a portion of the day happened to be cast with Mr. Wakefield. It was summer, we were overtaken by a shower, and both obtained a temporary shelter. When the shower ceased, we pursued our ride, and, happening to pass by a little plot of grass lately mown, I remarked that, after such a shower, and with such heat, in England the grass would wear marks of earth-worms turning up the soil: here there was no such thing. Wakefield instantly took out his memorandum-book, exclaiming, "What! no earth-worms in Ireland! I'll note that, it is very remarkable!." I know not why, although astounded at the inference, I did not contradict him. But in the evening I told the circumstance to Edgeworth, and asked whether I ought not to correct the mistake. "Not at all," said he, "it is delightful! leave it as it is, we shall see it in his next volume." I since understood that it did appear in the first edition of his book—it created much merriment, and the anecdote was told in society, as if Mr. Foster himself had successfully hoaxed the tourist. I give the true version of it. I really did not intend to deceive; but I had observed the constrast between a little lawn, near London, where I had recently been at school; and, when every one was making observations, I thought I should supply one of my own, but, from some unaccountable diffidence, forbore to correct the mistaken inferences from it.

In the evening another incident occurred characteristic of Edgeworth. When we adjourned after dinner to the ladies, Mr. Edgeworth seated himself at once beside a young English lady, lately married, and abruptly introduced himself. "You are English?" "Yes." "I am an Englishman and an Irishman also. I'll tell you my claims to be an Englishman. I was born in England—was educated in an English University—I married two English wives, and had ten English children. I'll now tell you why I am an Irishman also. I have a good property in Ireland—I was a member of parliament for an Irish borough for twenty years—I married two Irish wives—had ten Irish children, and am now playing *vingt-et-un*." Mr. Edgeworth said this so audibly as to be heard by the whole room. There was silence while he was speaking—a chorus of laughter followed—but I thought the young English lady would have sunk into the earth. It was probably her first taste of the quality of a wild Irishman, and I am sure Edgeworth addressed her thus to excite the astonishment he did.

With all this eccentricity, no one with common observation could know Mr. Edgeworth as long as I did, and have had so many opportunities of observing him, who would not judge with me, that, with all his eccentricity, he was a man of original and great powers, a deep thinker, and one whose help must have greatly contributed to his daughter's merited celebrity.

I have said that my acquaintance with Miss Edgeworth was subsequent to my knowledge of her father. Maria Edgeworth came on a visit to her relation's house, already alluded to, within half a mile of our residence. Our family were invited to spend the evening, to meet the authoress. It was an era in our young minds. We had a prepossession that so great a writer must needs be very learned, very brilliant, very sententious, and, in short, very *blue*. We found Miss Edgeworth, none of these, but rather in the opposite extreme. I have a great faith in first impressions—at least they are striking, and imprint themselves indelibly on the memory, particularly with regard to remarkable personages. I shall, therefore, simply relate that first interview and the impression it made.

We arrived early—the gentlemen had not left the dinner-room. Miss Edgeworth was out walking, and all was expectation for her appearance. Presently the door opened; a little woman, of very plain appearance and plainly dressed, who seemed beyond middle age, entered the room trippingly, with a small basket of fresh gathered flowers on her arm—it was Miss Edgeworth. She seemed, at least, not to perceive there were strangers present—although our little party formed a majority—and walked directly to her aunt, who was sitting at the table, and addressed to her some trivial observation, when suddenly giving a little start, as if perceiving, or seeming to perceive, strangers in the room, she made a slight apology; and thus commenced our acquaintance. Altogether the impression made upon us at this interview was, that, if there were not absolute affectation, there was a considerable want of nature in her manner, and that the simple may have its ostentation as well as the pedantic. The wiry edge of this feeling wore off considerably on further intimacy; but still an impression was always left on us that Miss Edgeworth either underated her powers, or did not really possess them to the extent she generally got credit for. She exhibited little conversational power, and none of those bright gleams of genius which usually break through the incrustations of the most studied mannerism, when the fire really burns intensely within.

It is not within my purpose here to enter into a criticism of Miss Edgeworth's writings. Mine is a personal narrative of what I observed in my casual intercourse with the writer. I may allude, however, to cotemporary opinion. It was a general objection in society made to Miss Edgeworth's works, while in progress of publication, that there was in them a total want of religion—perhaps partly, that in a canting age Miss Edgeworth was no canter. To say the truth, the leading moral inculcated through her writings was, that worldly prudence was the sure source of worldly success, and that "honesty was the best policy." She evinced a greater aptitude in the pourtrayal of manners than of mind, and a more thorough knowledge of the decorums and properties of society than of the deep springs of thought and principle as the parents of human action. It is a fact that those who were personally acquainted with father and daughter, usually gave the former credit for the profound as well as the sprightly and humorous portions of the publications of Miss Edgeworth, and they predicted that, upon his death, nothing so effective would appear in her name as during his lifetime. I believe the event has, in a degree, fulfilled the prediction. Nothing that I am aware of emanated from the pen of Miss Edgeworth after that event, and then at long intervals, except a few tales for children, and her novel of *Helen, a Story of High Life*, for which her tendencies and associations rendered her more adapted.

People will naturally ask, if her father was the principal architect of his daughter's works, why did he relinquish the credit? Why not publish them in his own name? But to this it may be replied, that the continuous labour of literary compositions was repugnant to his active and excitable habits, while the tendencies of Miss Edgeworth's were more sedate, and she possessed great facility in embodying her own or other's thoughts in a natural and pleasing style. Indeed, to do Miss Edgeworth justice, she always ascribed to her father the principal portion of her works, and therefore, in giving him rather a prominent position, I have but really given him his proper place.

There was an incident, repeated in the social gossip of the day, and I never heard it contradicted, which may further account for Mr. Edgeworth's not identifying himself with the real share he had in his daughter's works. The early Edgeworth stories came out in the name of Mr. and Miss Edgeworth—subsequently in Miss Edgeworth's name alone. As well as I can recollect, the first which appeared as Miss Edgeworth's singly, was *Castle Rack-Rent*. It was, I think, in that story—I only write from memory—that an Irish squire, of the true rack-rent school, was introduced, who, after a career of vulgar dissipation and mob popularity, determined to feign death and get a public wake, to enjoy, in life, the regrets and the praises which were expected to follow his loss, by his devoted retainers and neighbours. He accordingly was laid out as if dead, and the crowd, as usual at the period, congregated to wake him. The whisky and the tale went round; but, instead of praise, every weakness, folly, and offence against morals and manners, were unsparingly and accurately delineated by the racy humour and acuteness of the Irish peasantry. At length he was exasperated beyond endurance—the dead man started up in a living rage, and casting off his assumed part, chased the astonished guests out of the room. The adoption of this scene in the story of Miss Edgeworth so stung the original subject of it, that he sent a challenge to Mr. Edgeworth, who very wisely declined, upon the plea that the work was not his, but his daughter's. While this mode of solacing the wounded feelings of the squire served to point the satire with the pistol, and illustrated its fidelity, it was generally related as one of the reasons why Mr. Edgeworth studiously disconnected his name from all the subsequent publications of the family, which, abounding in character and faithful to life, were therefore often so capable of personal application. The race of which this Irish squire was a type is now extinct; but it is not difficult to guess how their posterity, as well as the country, still suffer from their former prevalence. R. A. B.

THE BICETRE IN 1792.*

It was in the latter end of 1792 that Pinel who had been appointed some time before medical superintendent of the Bicetre, urgently applied for permission from the authorities to abolish the use of the irons with which the lunatics were then loaded.—Unsuccessful, but resolved to gain his object, he repeated his complaints with redoubled ardour before the Commune of Paris, and demanded the reform of this barbarous system.

"Citizen," replied one of the members of the commune," to-morrow I will pay you and the Bicetre a visit But woe to you if you deceive us, and are concealing the enemies of the people amongst your madmen!"

The member of the commune who spoke thus was Couthon. The next day he arrived at the Bicetre.

Couthon was himself, perhaps, as strange a sight as that which he had come to see. Deprived of the use of both his legs, he was always carried about on men's shoulders; and thus mounted and deformed, he, with a soft feminine voice, pronounced sentences of death; for death was the only logic at that moment. Couthon wished to see, and personally to question, the lunatics one after another. He was conducted to their quarter of the building; but to all his questions he received but insults and sanguinary addresses, and heard nothing amidst the confused cries and mad howling but the chilling clank of the chains reverberating through the disgustingly dirty and damp vaults. Soon fatigued by the monotony of the spectacle and the futility of his inquiries, Couthon turned round to Pinel, and said, "Ah, citizen, are not you yourself mad to think of unchaining such animals?"

"Citizen," replied the other, "I am convinced that these lunatics have become so unmanageable solely because they are deprived of air and liberty, and I venture to hope a great deal from a thoroughly different method."

"Well, then do what you like with them; I give them up to you. But I fear you will fall a victim to your presumption."

Now master of his actions, Pinel commenced the next day his enterprise, the real difficulties of which he had never for a moment disguised to himself. He contemplated liberating about fifty raving madmen without danger to the more peaceable inmates. He decided to unchain but twelve as a first experiment. The only precaution he judged necessary to adopt was to prepare an equal number of waistcoats—those made of stout linen, with long sleeves, and fastened at the back, by means of which it is easy to prevent a lunatic doing serious mischief.

The first whom Pinel addressed was the oldest in this scene of misery. He was an English captain; his history was unknown; and he had been confined there for forty years. He was considered the most ferocious of all. His keepers, even, approached him with caution; for in a fit of violence he had struck one of the servants with his chains, and killed him on the spot. He was more harshly treated than the others, and this severity and complete abandonment only tended still more to exasperate his naturally violent temper.

Pinel entered his cell alone, and addressed him calmly. "Captain," said he, "if I take off your chains, and give you liberty to walk up and down the yard, will you promise me to be reasonable, and to injure no one?"

"I will promise you; but you are making game of me. They are all too much afraid of me, even you yourself."

"No, indeed, I am not afraid," replied Pinel; "for I have six men outside to make you respect me: but believe my word; confide in me, and be docile. I intend to liberate you, if you will put on this linen waistcoat in place of your heavy chains."

The captain willingly agreed to all they required of him, only shrugging his shoulders, and never uttering a word. In a few minutes his irons were completely loosened, and the doctor and his assistants retired, leaving the door of his cell open.

Several times he stood up, but sank down again; he had been in a sitting posture for such a length of time, that he had almost lost the use of his limbs. However, at the end of a quarter of an hour he succeeded in preserving his equilibrium; and from the depth of his dark cell he advanced, tottering towards the door. His first movement was to look up at the heavens, and to cry out in ecstasy, "How beautiful! During the whole day he never ceased running up and down the stairs, always exclaiming, "How beautiful! How delightful!" In the evening he returned of his own accord to his cell, slept tranquilly on a good bed which had been provided for him in the meantime, and during the following two years which he spent at the Bicetre, he never again had a violent fit; he even made himself useful, exercising a certain authority over the other lunatics, governing them after his fashion, and establishing himself as a kind of superintendent.

His neighbour in captivity was not less worthy of pity. He was an old French officer, who had been in chains for the past thirty years, having been afflicted with one of those terrible religious monomanias of which we even now-a-days see such frequent examples. Of weak understanding and lively imagination, he conceived himself destined by God for the baptism of blood—that is to say, to kill his fellow-creatures, in order to save them from hell, and to send them straight to heaven, there to enjoy the felicity of the blessed! This horrible idea was the cause of his committing a frightful crime. He commenced his homicidal mission by plunging a dagger into the heart of his own child. He was declared insane, confined for life in the Bicetre, and had been afflicted for years with this revolting madness. Calmness at length returned, but without reason; he sat on a stone, silent and immovable, resembling an emaciated spectre of remorse. His limbs were still loaded with the same irons as when first he was confined, but which he had no longer strength to lift. They were left on him as much from habit as from the remembrance of his crime. His case was hopeless. Dr. Pinel had him carried to a bed in the infirmary; his legs, however, were so stiff and contracted, that all attempts to bend them failed. In this state he lived a few months longer and then died, without being aware of his release.

The third presented a strange contrast. He was a man in the prime of life, with sparkling eyes; his bearing haughty, and gestures dramatic. In his youth he had been a literary character. He was gentle, witty, and had a brilliant imagination. He composed romances, full of love, expressed in impassioned language. He wrote unceasingly; and in order to devote himself with greater ardour to his favourite compositions, he ended by locking himself up in his room, often passing the day without food, and the night without sleep. To complete all, an unfortunate passion added to his excitement, he fell in love with the daughter of one of his neighbours. She, however, soon grew tired of the poor author, was inconstant to him, and did not even allow him the consolation of a doubt. During a whole year the anguish of the poor dreamer was the more bitter from concealment. At length, one day he saw the absurdity of his despair, and passing from one extreme to the other, gave himself up to every kind of excess His reason fled, and taken to the Bicetre in a raging fit, he remained confined for twelve years in the dark cell where Pinel found him flinging about his chains with violence. This madman was more turbulent than dangerous, and, incapable of understanding the good intended to him, it was necessary to employ force to loosen his irons. Once he felt himself at liberty, he commenced running round and round the court-yard, until his breath failing, he fell down quite exhausted. This excitement continued for some weeks, but unaccompanied by violence, as formerly. The kindness shown to him by the doctor, and the especial interest he took in this invalid, soon restored him to reason. Unfortunately he was permitted to leave the asylum and return to the world, then in such a state of agitation; he joined the political factions of the day with all the vehemence of his passions, and was beheaded on the 8th Thermidor.

Pinel entered the fourth cell. It was that of Chevinge, whose liberation was one of the most memorable events of that day.

Chevinge had been a soldier of the French Guard, and had only one fault—that of drunkenness But once the wine mounted into his head, he grew quarrelsome, violent, and most dangerous, from his prodigious strength. Frequent excesses caused his dismissal from his corps, and he soon squandered his scanty resources. At length shame and misery plunged him in despair, and his mind became affected. He imagined that he had become a general, and fought all who did not acknowledge his rank It was at the termination of a mad scene of this kind that he was brought to the Bicetre in a state of fury. He had been in chains for ten years, and with fetters stronger than his companions, for he had often succeeded in breaking his chains by the mere force of his hands. Once, in particular, when by this means he had obtained a few moments liberty, he defied all the keepers together to force him to return to his cell, and only did so, after compelling them to pass under his uplifted leg. This inconceivable act of prowess he performed on the eight men who were trying to master him. From henceforth his strength became a proverb at the Bicetre. By repeatedly visiting him, Pinel discovered that good dispositions lay hidden beneath violence of character, constantly kept excited by cruel treatment. On one occasion he promised to ameliorate his condition, and this promise alone had greatly tranquilized him. Pinel now ventured to announce to him that he should no longer be forced to wear his chains. "And to prove that I have confidence in you," added he, "and that I consider you to be a man capable of doing good, you shall assist me in releasing those unfortunate individuals who do not possess their reason like you. If you conduct yourself properly, as I have cause to hope you will, I shall then take you into my service, and you shall not leave me."

Never in the mind of man was there seen so sudden or complete a change: the keepers themselves were forced to respect Chevinge from his conduct. No sooner was he unchained, than he became docile, attentive, watching every movement of Pinel, so as to execute his orders dexterously and promptly, addressing words of kindness and reason to those lunatics with whom he had been on a level but a few hours previously, but in whose presence he now felt the full dignity of liberty. This man who had been unhumanized by his chains during the best years of his life, and who doubtless would have dragged on this agonizing existence for a considerable length of time, became at once a model of good conduct and gratitude. Frequently in those perilous times he saved Pinel's life; and one day, amongst others, rescued him from a band of ruffians who were dragging him off *a la lanterne*, as an elector of 1789. During a threatened famine, he every morning left the Bicetre, and never returned without provisions, which at that moment were unpurchasable even for gold. The remainder of his life was but one continued act of devotion to his liberator.

Next room to Chevinge, three unfortunate soldiers had been in chains for years, without any one knowing the cause of this rigour. They were generally quiet and inoffensive, speaking only to each other, and that in a language unintelligible to the rest of the prisoners. They had, however, been granted the only privilege which they seemed capable of appreciating—that of being always together in the same cell. When they became aware of a change in their usual mode of treatment, they suspected it to proceed from unfriendly motives, and violently opposed the loosening of their irons. When liberated, they would not leave their prison. Either from grief or want of understanding, these unhappy creatures were insensible to the liberty now offered to them.

After them came a singular personage, one of those men whose malady is the more difficult of cure, from its being "a fixed idea," occasioned by excessive pride. He was an old clergyman, who thought himself Christ. His exterior corresponded to the vanity of his belief; his gait was measured and solemn; his smile, sweet yet severe, forbade the least familiarity everything, even to the arrangement of his hair, which hung down in long curls on each side of his pale, resigned, and expressive countenance gave him a singular resemblance to the beautiful head of our Saviour. If they tried to perplex him, and said, "If thou art Him whom thou pretendest; in short, if thou art God, break thy chains and liberate thyself!" he immediately, with pride and dignity, replied, "In vain shalt thou tempt thy Lord:" The sublimity of human arrogance in derangement!

The life of this man was a complete romance, in which religious enthusiasm played the first part. He had made pilgrimages on foot to Cologne and Rome, and had then embarked for America, where, among the savages, he risked his life in the hope of converting them to the true faith. But all these travels, all those voyages, had the melancholy effect of turning his ruling idea into a monomania. On his return to France, he publicly announced himself as Him whose gospel he had been preaching far and wide. Seized and brought before the Archbishop of Paris, he was shut up in the Bicetre as a lunatic, his hands and feet were loaded with heavy irons, and for twelve years he bore with singular patience this long martyrdom and the incessant sarcasm to which he was exposed.

Argument with such minds is useless; they neither can nor will understand it. Pinel, therefore, never attempted to reason with him, he unchained him in silence, and loudly commanded that every one for the future should imitate his reserve, and never address a single word to this poor lunatic. This line of conduct which was rigorously observed, produced an effect on this self-conceited man far more powerful than the irons and the dungeon. He felt himself humbled by this isolation, this total abandonment, in the full enjoyment of his liberty At length, after much hesitation, he began to mix with the other invalids From that time forward he visibly improved, and in less than a year was sufficiently recovered to acknowledge the folly of his former Ideas, and to leave the Bicetre * * * *

Fifty lunatics were in this manner released from their chains in the space of a few days. Amongst them were individuals from every rank of life, and from every country Hence the great amelioration in the treatment of insane patients, which, until then, had been looked on as impracticable, or at least fraught with the utmost danger.

*From an account of Dr. Scipion Pinel, son of the humane physician of that name.

Gleanings from Foreign Publications.

THE WAR IN HUNGARY.—*By our Juvenile Correspondent.*—GEORGY PEORGY has been a good boy, and beaten that nasty PASKEWITCHYITCHY like a Bricky-wicksy.—*Punch.*

ONE of the "Own Correspondents" reports that—"The French entered Rome with universal acclamation." "Very like a wall!"—*Punch.*

On Saturday [says *Jerrold's News*,] one of those wretched exhibitions, the sale of a wife, with street-parading, halter, and all due paraphernalia, took place in Shrewsbury. The lady was bought by her paramour for 1s. (unpaid.) The parties (labourers) were sent to prison on Monday for creating a disturbance in the streets, a crowd groaning at and hissing them.

THE SWEATING SICKNESS.—I have been informed by several practitioners, that the "sweating sickness" has made its appearance at Paris, and seems to select those localities in which the cholera was most prevalent.—*Paris Correspondent of the Medical Times.*

The *Berkshire Chronicle* states that in some circulars sent round by the Bishop of Oxford to different parishes, was this inquiry; "Does your officiating clergymen preach the gospel, and are his conversation and carriage consistent therewith?" To which a churchwarden, about four miles from Wallingford, wrote in answer: "He preaches the gospel, but does not keep a carriage."

KOSSUTH IN THE SYNAGOGUE.—Some time ago Kossuth presented himself in the Synagogue of Grosswarden, to thank the Jews for their devotion to the national cause. He asked pardon of the people of Israel for the persecutions of the past times, and concluded his address by a solemn promise that, in future, the Jews should enjoy the same rights as the other inhabitants of Hungary.—*Jewish Chronicle.*

THE EMPEROR OF RUSSIA AND THE JEWS.—A Russo-Polish Jew, who has recently arrived in England, informs us that the Emperor of Russia has recently ordered prayers to be read in the synagogues for a successful issue of the Russian campaign in Hungary. According to Jewish custom, the psalms are chanted on such occasions. "Indeed," said our informant, "we did read psalms, and wept and cried, and, from the inmost recesses of our hearts, invoked salvation from heaven, not however for the defeat of the Hungarians, because we deeply sympathize with those brave men, but for our own redemption from Russian slavery and tyranny" This Russian Jew is one of the hundreds who now emigrate with their wives and families to England and other parts, for the purpose of proceeding to the United States of America, their present condition under the Russian Government being insupportable.—*Ibid*

Mr. Thomas Carlyle is travelling through the south of Ireland in company with Mr Gavan Duffy. They arrived at Cork on Sunday, and left together, for Killarney, on Monday Mr Duffy is a man of considerable talent, and may yet prove a blessing to his country The author of "Hero-worship" can point out to him the distinction between true heroes and "men of straw"—*London Inquirer.*

The Paris correspondent of the *Literary Gazette* remarks of queer titles "There are now published in French newspapers romances called 'The Red Spirits,' 'The Bloody Marchioness,' 'The Bloody Shoes;' and there have lately been published, 'Digging into the Earth with one's Nails,' 'How are you?' 'The Midnight Bludgeon,' and so on."

THE CHRISTIANITY OF CHRISTENDOM.—Some pious Christians argue that the only way of introducing civilization into a country, as India and China for instance, is by slaughtering and plundering the inhabitants; an argument at variance with reason and humanity, but quite in accordance with Christianity, as practised in Christendom. Justice and benevolence have never yet been tried. Time enough to employ brute force when peaceable means have failed, and even then *strict morality* forbids the employment of violence against a nation not our property. A country taken possession of by a legalized banditti (alias soldiers) never can *justly* belong to the robbers, a bit more than a stolen watch can *justly* belong to the thief who stole it.—*From a Tract by Mr Arthur Trevelyan, "War v. Mesmerism."*

THE MARRIAGE TATTERSALL'S OF PARIS.—There is in Paris, says a writer in *Bentley's Miscellany*, a huge convent, which, with its farm, its dairy, its dependencies, forms a world in itself; its name is Sacre-cœur. Here it is that all the high-born of the land are educated. They may call it "convent," or "boarding school," or what they will, but it is, in fact, neither more nor less than the *Marriage Tattersall's of Paris*, where all the great matches are made. There is a jockey-club of priests (forbidden to marry), of nuns (vowed to virginity), of a lady abbess, and lord bishop, of superiors, directors, mammas, and relative femenine, who lay their beads together and form a quorum to pronounce the fiat of matrimony upon—alas! but too—too often, the resistless victim to their holy consultations. Sacre-cœur is a sad misnomer, for within its walls, a less sacred or more wordly traffic in marriage there cannot exist; and, as to heart, it never enters into the bargain.—*Bentley's Miscellany.*

LIBEL ON FATHER MATHEW.—Some varlet in New York—if he be an Irishman, may his tongue be flayed with his next hot potato!—some spalpeen has been forging a letter in the name of the good, the temperate FATHER MATHEW A letter in which the Father is made to denounce the allowance—the paltry pension—of the ruthless Saxon; a pension of £300 per annum, so ruthlessly—so iniquitously forced upon the Father for—what now appears as plain as dirt in a bog—for preaching temperance to the Celt, and with whiskey in his bowels quenching his burning hatred to the Saxon; a hatred that the whiskey, like spirits of wine under a silver plate kept screeching hot against the inimy.

All this is plainly a forgery. What! FATHER MATHEW! The bland, the calm, the all-suffering FATHER MATHEW—*he* abuse the Saxon? He attend public breakfasts in London, dropping words of thankfulness, like cream,—and now from the other side of the Atlantic, to cry—"Dirty butter!"

This cannot be: for FATHER MATHEW is the Apostle of Temperance; and Temperance does not reside only in a water-course; her sole support is not a pump. Temperance—true, dignified and dignifying temperance, is in the heart of man; in the gentleness of his speech—in the charity of his thoughts towards all men. And FATHER MATHEW to abuse England! FATHER MATHEW, with a black spot in his heart, to desire "to throw up his pension from the British Government," *when*—and not before—replaced by a larger pension from his friends in America. We cannot believe in this double meanness, this double sin of ingratitude and selfishness. For, in the matter of pension, the Father will only illustrate the old proverb, namely—"not to throw away dirty water till you get clean," and—in the Father's case—more of it.

Should FATHER MATHEW really be this man, what a blow in the mind of the unreflecting will be given to Temperance After *his* defection, truth will not be thought to live in a well, but in a brandy-bottle—and instead of the hyacinth and water-lily (types of the sustaining lymph), grog-blossoms will be the only wear.—*Punch.*

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